

CHILD STUDY

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL
of PARENT EDUCATION

WINTER, 1946-47

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FORTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY VOL. XXIV, NO. 2 \$1.50 A YEAR

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CHILD STUDY reentered as second class matter December 6, 1930, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1947, by Child Study Association of America, Inc. Published by the Child Study Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y. Quarterly in Fall, Winter, Spring and Summer issues; published in November, February, April and June. 45 cents a copy, \$1.50 a year. Add 25c for all foreign subscriptions.

WINTER, 1946-47

H E A D L I N E S



Growing up in our society has its hazards. Year by year, we learn a little more about the ways in which children can be helped to take the hurdles vigorously and easily. Increasingly there is hope that our children will face the adventure of growing up with the necessary aids for making the best possible use of all the resources for sound emotional development.



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The Spring issue of CHILD STUDY will include the reports on "Recent Research in Child Development" to be given at the Annual Conference of the Child Study Association of America, on March 10, at the Hotel Roosevelt.



EDITORIAL

WE have among us today an increasing number of young parents, confident in their ability and fitness to bring up a vigorous and wholesome generation of children. One runs into them very frequently on nursery school doorsteps, on trains, in subways, in parks and playgrounds. Here are parents who, in their attitudes toward their children, reflect the many years of effort on the part of those who have made available to mothers and fathers the resources of modern science and education, of sympathy and human experience, in order that parents might make their guidance and training of children more effective.

MOST parents are able to meet the numerous demands of daily living as most children are amenable to the guidance they need for becoming normal adults in a complex society. There will be moments of worry and misgiving in all parents, and there will be difficult moments of growth in almost all children, but the help both parent and child will need to see them through the rough stretches is now becoming available.

MOST of us have always known that babies need love and, with half a chance, we have given it to them rather casually and by "instinct." Now increasing numbers of studies emphasize the importance of "mothering" for the normal development of the young from the very first months of life. We have known that mothering should diminish as the child grows older to enable him to attain emotional maturity. Recent studies of adolescents bear this out in their emphasis on the need for young people to grow into wider human relationships during the years which are biologically set for this purpose.

THE parent is not alone in his task of rearing emotionally healthy children. For many there is a sensitive understanding teacher into whose hands a child can be entrusted. For still a good many of us, there are also friends and friendly relatives and neighbors. For the troubled parent and child, there is professional help. Parents are being helped to avail themselves of child guidance and other counseling services without a sense of guilt or a feeling of inadequacy.

PARENTS have been overburdened in recent years by having had it preached at them that they are to blame for everything that happens to their children. The complex factors which underlie personality difficulties are still to be explored and evaluated. We need to encourage in every way possible the search for further understanding of what makes children healthy in body and mind and spirit. We need to renew, or develop, in parents, a feeling of confidence in their ability to help their children to sound emotional health.

THE EDITORS.

Problem Parents

ANNA W. M. WOLF

WITH increasing frequency we are told that behavior problems in children are closely related to their parents' problems. Studies of juvenile delinquents reveal the base of emotional instability in parents on which the structure of the child's inadequacy rests. So too with neurotic children. "Back of every problem child is a problem parent," is a slogan gaining widening currency. As with all dogmatic statements, this one too proves to have exceptions; yet there is no doubt that in most cases where a child's behavior changes rapidly for the better, we usually find that his parents have reached a better understanding of the part which they themselves are playing. Even with the most normal of children in the most normal of homes, parents soon learn how quickly their own fatigue, their own fits of the blues, their own moods and attitudes are felt by their children and given back in various behavior disturbances.

Along with the genuine gains resulting from the focusing of attention on the part played by parents, there have also been some unfortunate by-products. The "blame parents" slogan has given the go-ahead to those who enjoy shaking an accusing finger at someone else and parents have been an ever ready target. Self-righteous neighbors, family members who for their own reasons may enjoy gloating over others, school teachers, doctors and judges, at home, in the press, and at public gatherings, have joined in the chorus of blaming parents. Having fixed the blame, the righteous folk are then prone to dismiss the matter as hopeless, or at least as no longer their business.

It soon becomes clear, however, that an attitude of "punish the parent" is no more effective than the older attitude of "punish the child." When such a spirit prevails, parents react, as anyone would to being thus castigated and rejected—they react with antagonism and increased defensiveness. In their struggle to cover up the problems confronting them, they may refuse even to see when their children are in difficulties. Instead of looking honestly at the facts, they rush to cover, trying to persuade themselves that all the child needs is a "little common sense handling." "He will outgrow it," they say. Sometimes, of course, they are right. There *are*, fortunately, a

great many problems with children where common sense and patience do bring about a solution. Children do outgrow many faults and failings if "let alone." There are, however, some situations where expert help is needed and where "letting alone" can only plunge the child deeper into confusion and maladjustment. Parents cannot escape the responsibility of gauging which of these alternatives applies to their own child. When in doubt they are entitled to a chance to consult an expert who knows what is fair to expect of children and who therefore can be of enormous help in diagnosing the situation and suggesting the help needed.

It is unfortunate that the idea of blame, whether of parents or children, should ever have arisen. Solutions are hard to find when one starts the search with a burden of guilt. Actually, parents may be as unaware of the forces that drive them into attitudes unhealthy for their children as are the children themselves. They do not know why they persist in the same unhappy way. Like the child, they, too, are often helpless to change their approach.

There are also times when the child's problems are not so much a result of unhealthy parental attitudes as of an inevitable interaction between certain kinds of personalities which just happen to work out badly in a particular combination. If parents can realize that no child lives in a psychological vacuum, that every child's emotional development is bound to be affected by the two people to whom his tie is closest—his parents—they will not feel so accused and guilty, nor respond so defensively. Parents need to remember that there are differences between children in their hereditary endowment and that some children will be more difficult to live with than others. They need to feel that from time to time they will be facing difficult moments in their children's development which are normal to all children and which all parents are called upon to face.

Parents' own personality problems as they affect their children range all the way from the relatively simple, those based on misinformation or on temporary distresses in their lives, to those resulting from deeply fixed attitudes and feelings conditioned by

unconscious forces and therefore much more difficult to alter.

At one end of the scale is every mother who gets tired and depressed now and then, who has run along in a groove of domestic chores and gone stale on the job. Anything which freshens her up, whether it is a real vacation or dining out for a night, or perhaps just a satisfying talk with her husband, may help her to see more clearly what is really going on in her home. She may discover at such moments that because Johnny had appendicitis and her husband a long drawn-out heart condition, ten-year-old Jane had to shift for herself and felt lonely and neglected. Or, she may suddenly realize that whereas she is the efficient, hard-working type, her high standards and continuous demands for excellence in all things are particularly hard on fourteen-year-old Bill, who is the dreamy sort. Bill has been growing very rapidly and when she discovers how well he gets along under less pressure, she steps down her demands. There are a thousand ways in which parents constantly take stock of themselves and learn to alter their course. Fortunately such mothers are in the majority with the result that the majority of children are neither delinquent nor neurotic. By achieving sharper insight early in the game, parents in these simple ways avoid mistakes which may snowball into something formidable if understanding comes too late.

At the other extreme, however, is the mother who literally cannot see, or seeing, cannot act differently. For her, not even "advice," though clearly stated and tactfully offered, can be of the slightest avail. Such a mother may even recognize the advice as good and wise, she may wish to accept it, but when it comes to day-to-day living, she keeps on committing the same old errors. She is helpless because she is driven by unconscious factors beyond her knowledge or control. In such instances only prolonged psychotherapy can really help.

Here are examples of both kinds of mothers, one essentially normal and flexible enough to make changes; the other, a more serious problem.

A family was in a turmoil because a two-year-old wouldn't go to sleep at night. He insisted that someone sit with him or pat him to sleep. He cried and seemed greatly perturbed when his mother left the room. Somewhat against her own feelings, she had refused to consider the child's demands. Husband, neighbors, "books," all assured her that she would spoil the child if she did. The child continued to scream and everyone was miserable. Finally she de-

cided to obey her original impulse. For several weeks she stayed with the child each night after the lights were out and until he fell asleep. Before he was put to bed she saw that he had a period of satisfied, unhurried attention from both parents. After several months he stopped demanding his mother's presence in his room. Now at five, he is a solid, untroubled sleeper, quite satisfied to remain alone.

This case is especially interesting because this child is the kind who is somewhat prone to anxieties. He is shy and sensitive, as yet unable, for example, to tolerate stories with even a mild degree of suspense. The important point is that he has shown steady growth away from such anxiety. An issue at bedtime at age two, and a rigid policy of strict anti-spoiling routines, might really have handicapped him in his effort to grow away from timidity and fearfulness. Here the mother's own impulses were essentially right. She had been mistakenly influenced to act against her better judgment. She could easily reverse herself and did so with immediate benefit to the child. Of great importance, too, is the fact that when she realized that the child really *was* ready to go to sleep alone she could encourage him to do so instead of perpetuating a dependence beyond the need for it.

There are some problems which are far more difficult. A seven-year-old child tyrannized the whole family. He demanded an inordinate amount of attention, displayed a jealous hostility to guests, indulged in defiant sex talk and was an aggressive bully in his relations to other children. His mother, in the course of her own development, had come to resent her own childhood upbringing. Her parents had been strict and conventional about manners, believing that children should first and foremost be kept from annoying their elders. They were cool and remote and she grew up feeling lonely and deprived. As happens with many parents, she determined she would never make those mistakes. Instead she made serious ones of her own. Johnny grew up with a sky's-the-limit attitude in all matters. Instead of a mother who was firm and friendly, he found one who was irritable because she was weak. Although at one period she made up her mind to change her tactics and be strict, she went into a panic each time the child kicked or used bad language or defied her. "What can I do? He is stronger than I am!" she said. Finally she asked the family doctor for help and he gave her specific advice—good advice. She determined to follow it, and thought she understood. But when each moment came, she failed.

Invariably she applied the good advice at the wrong moment, or she distorted the real meaning of what she had learned. Even when she held firm on one specific issue she was past master at making brand new mistakes. Apparently convinced of the child's need for greater control, she invariably cracked down where she might have been lenient and vice versa. The truth was that any sharp collision with this child frightened her. She did not dare to oppose him, not because she was afraid of his anger, but because opposing him brought her close to her own unconscious hostile feelings toward him. Love, in her vocabulary, meant no more than "giving a child whatever he wants." The exercising of discipline and the imposing of any frustration frightened her because it was bound up in her mind with her own unloving parents. Wise discipline was beyond her experience and actually beyond her understanding.

The foregoing is the merest fragment of a deep-lying and complicated problem. Such a mother will never profit from advice. She will be unable to make changes in her relation to her child without expert help from a psychotherapist in unraveling her own personal problems—problems deeply bound up with the loves and hates of her own unhappy childhood, problems of which she is wholly unaware.

In such ways, even conscientious parents unwittingly make mistakes. As we know, most such mistakes can, by honest self-searching, be recognized and corrected. Other mistakes have more deep-lying causes and with them parents may need help from professional sources. Whatever the nature of the difficulty, it is definitely help, not blame which parents need if they are to be enabled to do better by their growing children.

There is still another group of parents who would seem to merit some of the calumny hurled at their heads. At first glance they appear to be lacking in just that conscientiousness which is the mark of the good mother or good father. They seem unwilling to take either time or trouble with the character education of their children. These are the parents who are too busy with work, or too harassed by economic disabilities, or too torn by conflicting desires or led astray by false values to find much satisfaction in giving the necessary time or thought to parenthood. They haven't found much fun in having children and they have been taught by many currents in our culture that the enjoyment of life lies in material values. Most of them, I believe, care as much for their children as others do, but they are burdened by a sense of hopelessness and are often beaten before they start.

They lack the resourcefulness to keep their children happy at home if, indeed, nowadays they have a home at all, and they yield to the temptation of letting their children spend as much time elsewhere as possible. The result is neglect, and all that goes with it, and neglect in the world as it is today is more destructive than ever before.

What are we doing to help parents to help their children? This, I believe, is one of the most important questions we are facing today. Gone are the steadying effects of a family homestead, the "home town," the old friends, a feeling of belonging, a need to stand well in the eyes of old associates. Gone, too, is the large family group, the old folks, the uncles, aunts and cousins who came to one's rescue when financial disaster threatened or when the baby got the measles. Many families today feel surrounded by strangers who don't care. The security which came to earlier generations through family and community life as we knew it then, is no longer available today. Feeling abandoned, such parents become anxious and hostile and this anxiety and restless hostility falls full force on the children. Under these conditions, scolding and shaking an accusing finger at parents for failure to do their duty only increases the problem.

There is no question but that everywhere there is a crying need for increased psychiatric facilities. Our schools need guidance counselors who are more than amateurs masking under a title. Such counselors should be equipped to give help to parents in meeting home problems as well as to teachers who are engaged in preparing children to become citizens capable of meeting life problems. Social agencies, churches, community efforts of all kinds should unite in studying ways to help families to remain whole and healthy.

In addition to increased numbers of psychiatric counselors and advisers, we need a properly planned, properly financed program of psychiatric and social science research. It's time we realized that the world's greatest problem today is a human problem, the problem of what ails us all that we make such a sorry mess of things, the problem of the life spoiled because of inability to stand the stresses which the modern world imposes. If it takes millions of dollars to solve these problems, let us by all means find the money.

But while we look ahead to the future, there are things to be done now and today. All of us can use imagination and sympathy at every point where our

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The Earliest Years

L. JOSEPH STONE

IN recent years parents have been encouraged to be themselves, to relax pressure on routines and to stop worrying that their children will tyrannize over them. They are urged to pick up the baby when he cries inconsolably, if only to love him. Many of the precepts of child care which were most worrisome and troublesome some twenty years ago have been withdrawn by contemporary experts. In their place, parents have been given something new to worry them.

We are telling parents today that emotional adjustment is largely determined in the first years of life. This new emphasis from psychiatry on the significance of the early years, on the molding influences of parents, and on the effects wrought by early experiences, provides a new source of anxiety for thoughtful fathers and mothers. They are faced with a kind of chicken-and-egg riddle: if the basis for emotional health is not to be sought in the experiences of later life but in the happenings and relationships of infancy, the parents are more than ever responsible for the fundamental outcomes of their children's lives. What is worse, they are told that what they *do* makes little difference and that the "fundamental relationship" established with the baby is what counts. The specific techniques used by parents are not as important as the kind of people they are and the attitudes that they have. Here the chicken begins to wonder what happened to her when she was an egg (and so does the rooster). For it is no longer enough for her to know *what* to do; now she must consider whether she is a *suitable person* to shoulder this responsibility.

Here obviously we are paying some of the penalties of self-conscious parenthood. Mothers and fathers are provided today with an opportunity for remaking the world and peopling it with men and women emotionally fit to accept the responsibilities of democratic living. For many parents the awareness of their important role results in loss of spontaneity, and in genuine anxiety about the shattering responsibility of rearing the young. There are no longer automatic answers to all their problems from established folkways, consistent from generation to generation, and the comfortable substitute for this of stated prescriptions of "what to do" are now fading from favor.

Not only psychiatry but anthropology has recently given close attention to the ways in which various child-rearing practices seem to influence personality formation. From this new source has come great new illumination, but here again some misapplications or mistakes in emphases have seemed to lay new burdens on parents. One of the most recent comparisons with other cultures has come from a Naval psychiatrist who was struck, while inspecting the human debris of Okinawa, by the differences of the impact of violent battle and fantastic storm on Japanese, Americans and Okinawans. Our own rate of neuropsychiatric casualties apparently was high; the Japanese forces and civilians were committing suicide in wholesale quantities. Yet, only one psychotic episode is said to have been seen in the Okinawan population, although their homes were destroyed and they were living in caves under the most primitive conditions following a fearful battering by human and natural forces. (Note, too, that the Okinawans did not have the feeling that they were fighting and beating back their enemy's strongest blows, so important a factor in the high morale of Britain under bombing.) The psychiatrist attributed the psychic durability of the Okinawan population to their close family ties and secure personal relationships. A basic factor in establishing this extraordinary security was, in his analysis, the manner in which the Okinawan baby spends his first three years in close and intimate contact with his mother, most of the time strapped to her back in direct skin-to-skin contact. Most important, weaning, he noted, did not take place until the end of the third year.

There is danger in attempting to translate behavior from one culture to another. While one culture may fairly readily adopt from another the techniques for making pots, or fashioning weapons, it is impossible to remove from context child-rearing practices or other aspects of the basic human relationships which shape personality. A three-year nursing period would not mean the same thing in New York City that it does in Okinawa. The relationships of parents and children cannot be separated from their complex social context, and a specific procedure (like prolonged delay of weaning) would involve in our society a whole series of disturbed relationships in the mother's role as a wage-earner or housekeeper, her relations

with her husband, with her other children, with grandparents, and with all the neighbors. Thus our society fixes limits to the amount of free choice that we have in ways of bringing up and handling our children. We can, however, take advantage of cues from other societies and (still following the example of weaning) delay it as long as we can, within our cultural framework. Moreover, we know from other sources that the essential value of the nursing relation probably lies in the close and intimate contact between mother and child, and we know that a mother can maintain such a relationship successfully even if circumstances determine that she bottle-feed her baby.

The true contribution of the anthropologist lies in making clear the extent to which techniques of child-handling are imbedded in long cultural tradition. There are different ways of bringing up children; they arise from—and influence—the pattern of each society. Therefore, *the area of free choice and decision for parents is not infinite*. Society sets down the patterns for bringing up its members. We can shift some of the traditional ways a little bit for the benefit of our children and of our own society but it is impossible to remake a culture all at once. Only *within definite limits* can we choose the techniques we would use with our children.

These limits are still further narrowed by the facts-of-temperament, by the built-in traits or tendencies to expressiveness or reserve, fastness or slowness, irritability or calm which are the *individual* biological birthright of each child, and which instantly become established in the give and take of family life. A father's attempts to lay down the law produce one set of behavior results, one set of feelings in him and in the child if the child clenches his teeth and looks away; quite another train of circumstances follows if the child's reaction is a tense giggle or a solemn, two-year-old admonition, "Daddy, don't shout." All parents of more than one child know these differences and have sensed them early in the different patterns of muscular tension-and-relaxation they feel as they hold one or another very young baby.

Within this framework of cultural and biological limits, the injunctions that may be laid by the experts upon parents today are few, and not likely to be either stultifying or terrifying. Parents are called upon, first, to *be themselves*: to be natural and to follow their feelings with regard to their children. This makes sense in the anti-authoritarian trend of our culture. We seek to establish mutual respect in our families and not an uneasy position of parent on

a pedestal of authority desperately trying to hide feet of clay. Emotional honesty with children is essential. It has been clearly established that children are sufficiently alert to behavioral clues, to signs of emotion, to sense their parents' true feelings anyway. There is little point in pretending to have emotions one does not really feel, and little hope for success in concealing emotions one would prefer to keep under cover. This does not mean that one must solemnly verbalize all one's feelings for the child all day long. An affectionate, fond mother might just as well act that way; an irate mood in another is better expressed, ventilated and forgotten than stored up by excessive control. What is more, any hostile tendencies that we may feel toward our children, any tendencies toward Overprotection or Rejection or other bugaboo relationships are better handled by us and better faced by our children if such feelings are not made to masquerade as something else. In learning to express and examine our feelings honestly we may become better aware of our tendencies to "smother rather than mother" our children, or to resent a child whose presence has complicated living or working arrangements. In such ways we can achieve a better balance of our real feelings. We may, moreover, come to recognize how some of us could benefit by professional help in determining what our real feelings are, or what old battles of our own lives we may be fighting out with our children.

It should be pointed out again that the fact that we *are* all members of our society safeguards us from excess. Those of us who are not downright abnormal will still express our emotions *within reasonable limits*, because our culture has established those limits for all of us, in parent-child situations as well as in others. *Of course*, we cannot "let children do everything they want to do"; *of course*, we cannot tyrannize over our children or treat them brutally. Every parent must recognize which things simply are "not done" and make judicious use of his freedom to choose within the limits permitted by society.

We must look for the same honesty and vigor of emotional expression from children. Here, again, the guideposts are clear. If we like individuality rather than regimentation, if as a society we have chosen outspokenness and open dealing over repression and surreptitious back-biting, we must expect and ride out episodes of turbulent emotion and violent feeling in the course of family life as people of different ages, sexes, interests and temperaments live together. We know the views of psychiatrists and psychologists

on the harm of unventilated hostilities and the resulting explosive and misplaced aggressions. At the same time, if we are reasonably in tune with our society we know that clear and definite limits must be set on acts of aggression and on the actual assertion of many of our impulses. Most parents will come to appreciate without great conflict, it seems to me, the procedure of the skilled nursery school teacher who says: "I know you're mad at me—I get angry, too—but I can't let you throw that." "Lots of people feel like biting but I won't let you bite Nancy and I won't let Nancy bite you, either." And she adds an offer of a hammer and nails or something hard to chew on if the tension is still high.

Second of the major injunctions to parents is that we provide *real mothering* (I wish it were possible to say "*parenting*"). We have had thoroughly demonstrated in recent years the physiological as well as the emotional importance of close physical contact, handling, rocking and just plain "enjoying the young baby." Our fear of "spoiling" is reduced because it is rather clear now that the spoiled child is the one who is not sure when his parents will blow hot and when they will blow cold, the one who is starved for or uncertain of affection, and not the child who feels solidly based in parental acceptance and affection.

Third, we must let our children *act their developmental age* and grow at their own rate. The two-year-old does not need the same kind of affection or the same expressions of affection as the baby. To impose it upon him—to carry him when he would rather walk, to feed him when he would like to eat and spill his own food, or to anticipate all his mistakes—means to infantilize him and to hold back his normal development. I have used the term *developmental age* because we cannot judge what our children are ready for by looking at the neighbor's children, or by being too carried away with studies of what is "normal" at each age. We must watch for the signal flags that our own child runs up for us, and from time to time examine our behavior to see whether we are responding to his readiness to move on. Children *need* to move on and glory in every step toward maturity. It is really not hard to strike a balance between allowing the child to go forward and at the same time refraining from the extra push or the imposition of standards that are beyond him. It is not hard because we do not have to change all at once; most children will want to try out the new ways before they really adopt them and they will also want to backslide into younger ways of acting. As one five-year-old put it: "Being big is the best, best

thing, isn't it? But today I want to pretend I am a baby. You take care of me, but don't tell."

Fourth, we may encourage parents to *respect their children as human beings and as unique individuals*. Only out of such respect can children come to respect themselves and others. Part and parcel of a relationship of mutual respect is the demonstration that we respect others and that we expect consideration from our children. In the earliest years this may even require firm restraint. Playing doormat is not a sign of true respect.

A difficult problem for many parents arises in areas where personal and family beliefs run counter to general cultural trends or where our culture itself is confused and contradictory. Fundamentally in such problems as sex attitudes, Santa Claus, race prejudice, or God, the issues are the same, and underlying them, it seems to me, is the question of *respect*. These problems usually become most important in the middle and adolescent years, but the bases for democratic living and for comfortable social relations are laid down long before. Our difficulty is that, while we feel rightly that the child must have a simple answer, we interpret this to mean that the answer must be absolute. But most young children quite readily accept an answer along the lines of: "*Some people think so-and-so, but we happen to believe thus-and-thus.*" For instance, some people feel that boys and girls should not go to the bathroom together, some families believe otherwise; lots of people like to pretend there is a real Santa Claus, others think it is a nice story children enjoy; some people go to that brick church every Sunday while others worship in other ways, or do not worship at all. Why not say so? Concepts like these are readily assimilated by most children of three and over. The formulation can be very simple yet still convey clearly that differences exist; and convey, too—usually *implicitly*, in phrasing, and tone of voice—our emphasis on respect for different ways of thinking or doing things. If we can relax in our compulsion to give children absolute answers to problems which are wholly relative and have no such answer, our task will be much simpler, their concepts will be much clearer and innumerable conflicts will be automatically eliminated.

It seems to me worthwhile to introduce the idea of difference deliberately but casually in situations which are not loaded with emotion so that the child may easily and naturally accept the principle that differences are natural and acceptable before he meets the issue in a setting clouded with adult emotions,

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The Teacher Can Prevent

JAMES L. HYMES, JR.

THIS year and next, the year after and the year after, a group of children will be beginning school who lived their early lives while our country was at war. These are the war babies. They were born after Pearl Harbor and they are old enough now to enter our kindergartens and our first grades.

These children are old enough but not all of them are ready. Think back and you will know why this is so. The tension during the war in most homes; the still-greater worry in some because father was away; the loneliness of many mothers, their tiredness and fatigue; the traveling and moving about; crowded homes and temporary homes; the doubling-up with grandparents, the strains and the conflicts; the procession of maids and housekeepers and teachers while mothers worked; the new discipline; the new roles for children; occasionally the quarrels and adjustments when fathers returned—these are not the ingredients of a mentally healthy early childhood.

Not all the war babies suffered. Despite the war—even because of the war—some children had the good things of early life. Many lived in homes freed from financial worry. Some had better food, clothing, health care, more play things than they might otherwise have had. Some lived in a healthier atmosphere; their mothers as well as their fathers felt needed. There was important work for women to do and for men; this helped many children. Even when mothers worked full time some children made out well. Some women got more satisfaction out of their adult living under this plan, a new satisfaction they had not known before. They became more relaxed mothers to be with children and could give more of themselves, even though they were tired and had less time to give it in. And some children had a good start because grandmothers or nursery school teachers made up to them for what their war-busy parents were unable alone to give.

Not all of the war babies suffered but there is a Purple Heart brigade.

Some children—even one would be too many—had too little or too much. The war, the living it brought, meant too little affection for them, too little time for them and too little interest in them, too little steadiness and too little certainty, too little freedom to be children and to grow at their own pace. For some the war brought too much moving about, too

much over-control, too much responsibility, too much worry, too many demands. These children are coming to school now. They are the ones who need help.

It is not surprising that these children are difficult to live with. Fathers coming back from service say this; teachers who have the first crop of these children in kindergarten and first grade say it; the nursery school teachers who worked with these children during the war in child care centers predicted it! Some of them act fighty—they knock down, talk back, hit, tear, break rules. Some of them act whiny—they cry easily and get upset, cling to adults, want to come first, are fearful, unsure of themselves and unsure of others. Some have angry feelings inside. The feelings have piled up and piled up. On the surface these are “good” children but they are unpredictable: little things touch off the spark and they have explosions.

This Purple Heart brigade is no new brand of children. War or no war—today, yesterday, perhaps always—some children grow up under conditions which do not permit the fulfillment of their fundamental needs.

Georgie is a war baby. When his father was drafted Georgie was carted all over the country. He traveled in day coaches, lived in one-room apartments, was uprooted constantly as his mother tried to follow Army camps. Georgie was toilet-trained too early, kept much too clean, made to be too polite and to play too nice. That was the way you could get by with a child on the trains and in rooming houses—you had to have a *good* child. But there were Georgies ten and twenty years ago who were made too good too soon. It was not the war then but the hopes and too-high standards of parents, their fears and their exalted ideals of what a child should be like, or competition with neighbors. It has all happened before; the draft rejections tell us this.

Mary is another war baby. When her father was drafted Mary's mother went to work. First the baby was cared for by grandmother. She became too much for an older woman so a maid was hired. A higher salary lured the maid away; another one came, and still another. Then Mary was parked with a woman down the street. That worked out badly; a child care center was the next answer. Always the one person who might give Mary the affection she

needed came home too late or too tired or too harried for those little hugs and quiet relaxed times that mean so much to children. Mary lost out but there have been thousands of Marys before. Children in institutions; children in poorer homes where mother has to work on a wearing, tiring job; children in homes at all economic levels who were never wanted in the first place; children whose sex was a disappointment to their parents; children in homes where discipline or the schedule or furniture or the fear of bad habits and "spoiling" are put ahead of warmth—these are the Marys of the pre-war. And we will have them in the post-war, too.

The Purple Heart brigade is not new, but the war does make them stand out. Here is a group. They were all born after Pearl Harbor; they are ready now to enter our kindergartens and our first grades. You can put your finger on them. What are we going to do for them? Children are always the innocent victims but these have a special claim to our attention.

One possibility: we can blame. We can say, "Selective Service should not have drafted fathers." . . . "Mothers should have stayed at home with their children." . . . "Women should have worked shorter hours." . . . "Housing should have been better." But just blaming will not help the children.

Still worse: we may blame the children themselves. Their behavior will make it easy for us to do just that. For teachers and for parents it will be so simple to say, "Mary is a cry-baby," "Georgie is a bully." We may even find ourselves tempted to say, "Well, they are war babies," and let it go at that.

Still another possibility: we can wait to see what happens. This is what we have tended to do in the past. We can see how many of these children start their school careers with failures. We can count how many of them play truant as the years go along. We can keep score on how many are labeled delinquent. In the terrible event of another war we can add up the draft rejections again. There are many statistics we can collect and study: business failures, unhappy marriages, suicides. All our past experience teaches us that children whose emotional needs are not fully met in early childhood have two strikes against them. We can put official scorers at all the crucial points in later life to see if the third strike is called.

There is a much more constructive step. We can increase as rapidly as possible the training of large numbers of guidance specialists. We can bend every effort toward the establishment of many treatment centers so that, when their troubles come to the boiling-over point, these children can have help. We

desperately need more child guidance clinics, public and private. We know this from the past; a great need exists for services to treat children once their difficulties become too much for them and too much for the people they live with. This is true and would be important even if the war had dropped no psychological bombshells.

But there is a still more promising avenue: *this is the way of prevention*. We can make up to these children now for what they missed and what they want. We can ease their tensions, let their angry feelings come out safely and gently, and fill them up with the warm and happy glow of satisfying living.

This is the preventive job and we have the resources to do it. *Teachers can do it*. Teachers can meet the emotional needs of their children through the regular daily program of their classrooms. Teachers can use the beginning years of school as a great preventive effort. Through their program and through themselves, in their relations with children, they can immunize these war babies. They can save them; they can save many children, war or no war, who have been hurt by life, by the stresses and strains of their early growing up.

Teachers can do it. Teachers are the ones who reach all our children. They are with them for long enough blocks of time. Schools do have the materials and the know-how. Sensitive teachers have long found ways of helping children to get their feet firmly on the ground. The big need today is to help more teachers do what some teachers have always done.

This is a hard time to ask more of teachers. In school and out of school the pressures on them are piling up. The out-of-school story has been told in the newspapers: the pinch of rising prices, the two-jobs to make ends meet. The in-school story is no easier. War dislocations have swamped many classrooms; the high birth rate during the war has added to the flood. Children doubled up in seats, too little room to move around, not enough supplies: this is hard on children and it is hard on teachers, too, on their strength and on their spirit.

The one saving grace is that the preventive job can be done through the teacher's regular daily program; that is the way sensitive teachers in the past have done it. For what these children need is not something costly or special or fancy.

They need friendly teachers with friendly classrooms. It is as simple as that. For the war babies

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The Essence of Adolescent Change

PETER BLOS

A GREAT DEAL has been written in recent years about adolescence and many studies have been devoted to this age group. A staggering body of information is available covering physical development, interests, social behavior and many other aspects of this period. Despite the fact that we know so much about adolescence, the problems of the adolescent are still with us. As we look at young people today, it would appear that the process of gaining emotional independence is the most pressing problem to be understood. It is individually and socially the source of the greatest confusion, unhappiness and misdirected efforts on the part of the adolescents and those who want to help them.

Maturing boys and girls emerging into society are more vulnerable to sociological upheavals than other age groups with definite status and recognition in our culture. In a depression youth is "in the way" as an economic competitor and is often prevented from growing up too fast and assuming too early an active and productive role in the adult world. How differently youth appears to us in times of war! Then the very existence of the country depends on the young; there is a premium on youth and we witness a reverence of youth by society quite unknown to young people in times of peace. As we think about the adolescent, we have to keep in mind that external conditions such as these influence his emotional development significantly either by accelerating or by delaying the process of social maturation. The younger child, the recent war taught us, can weather horrors and catastrophies without emotional damage if the relationship to the parent, predominantly the mother, is secure and satisfactory. This does not hold true for the adolescent; he reacts independently to the dislocations and insecurities of the society in which he lives.

It is more than a figure of speech to say that the infant is born into the family and the adolescent is born into society. Infant and child are wholly and utterly dependent on the family. The child grows in self-reliance and reaches a limited independence of action and thought, but the crucial and deep process of dissociation from old dependencies does not occur until adolescence. This process can start anywhere from the age of twelve, more or less, up to the early twenties; with many individuals it never occurs at

all. The process of emotional dissociation from childhood dependence and the successful formation of new relations outside the family is the essential concern of the adolescent period. After many years of studying adolescents it appears to me that it is this problem which constitutes the essence of adolescent personality change; everything else will fall into place as by a miracle once this central theme has found its appropriate solution.

Here are two real life situations of adolescents. They do not represent abnormal situations by any means. Bob was nineteen. He was a brilliant boy but his marks in high school were rather poor. He always had had a tendency to stammer and this difficulty had become very pronounced during his adolescence. It interfered with his participation in class as well as in social life. He had always been a good boy, an only child, "mother's pride and hope," and had always been spurred on by her to greater success. When he got a "B" mother would say "why not an 'A'?" This attitude on the part of his mother had been part of every aspect of his life from toilet training to saying "please." In high school Bob quite unexpectedly played hookey several times. It happened again and again. It was all incomprehensible; Bob was such a gentle, friendly, well-mannered boy. It is of interest to listen to Bob's comment about his truancy. "It was the only way to do something on my own," he said. Bob's poor work was still another way he adopted to fight against parental domination. His stammering was also closely related to this domination; he was afraid to "speak his mind." When Bob was helped to understand his conflicted feelings toward his parents, he found himself able to study and did extremely well. He also stopped stammering and new avenues for social development soon opened up for him.

Jane, aged fifteen, failed to pass the tests in school despite the fact that she was one of the best students in the class and it was quite apparent that she knew her material. In a test situation she would "go to pieces," cry, and run out of the classroom. An analysis of the situation revealed that she was unconsciously competing with her mother whose intelligence and brilliant school career had become a family legend. The girl wanted above all else to show her father that she was just as good, perhaps

better than her mother. This competition reached its climax in the test situation. After the student was helped with this conflict she was able to use her knowledge without getting it confused with her family relationships.

These examples could be multiplied many times. They are condensed here but they indicate that exaggerated, demonstrative behavior in adolescence springs from a conflict in family relationships. These conflicts may not necessarily coincide with actual and external conflicts at the time because not only actual but also imagined parental attitudes are real for the adolescent. Moreover, infantile experiences of neglect, overindulgence, jealousy and fear come to life again in adolescence and are at times indistinguishable for the adolescent from the parents' present attitudes, feelings and actions. This accounts in part for the irrationality of so many adolescent expressions and impressions.

In the attempt to build a self which is less dependent on the parent, many kinds of activities or relationships can serve as convenient outlets. An adult person in authority, property, the law, the school and learning itself can serve this purpose. Extremes of feeling and behavior here too are a frequent occurrence. Law, morality and order are tyrannically enforced by the adolescent or are ruthlessly ignored and opposed. When the negative aspect of conflicts over relationships is externalized it leads to expressions of asocial behavior, known in the extreme form as juvenile delinquency. The positive aspect finds expression in attachments, crushes, devotions, identifications, which all serve to shape a new self. At this moment, the forbidden assumes a special significance; in toying with the forbidden (smoking, drinking, sex, late hours, to mention the most obvious) the adolescent repudiates the impositions of his conscience which embodies the "do's" and "don'ts" of his parents. In disregarding the dictates of his conscience the adolescent makes room for motivating principles which he feels are his own. This process often leads to dangerous extremes and excesses of irresistible urgency. "I don't know why I did it—I just had to—" we hear the adolescent say. In the deepest sense this attitude is usually an exaggeration of a normal and necessary impulse. Adolescence is the appropriate time to experiment with one's conscience at one's own risk because only through such experiences can the dissociation from the symbiotic existence in the family take place and the individual be enabled to progress to maturity.

It is unfortunate that so many of us speak of adolescence as an isolated maturational period with its special characteristics. Adolescence constitutes a phase in the total development of the child, a phase which is intricately linked to the "before" and "after." Only if we appreciate this double orientation will we be in a position to understand the extremes of noise and silence with which adolescents sometimes baffle their parents and teachers. It might be well to glance briefly at the early formative years when such deep and powerful ties between child and parent develop. Perhaps this will help us to understand the problems involved in the process of growing up. The infant, quite helpless, is dependent physically on the mother's protection and care, and emotionally on her love and guidance. As soon as the child gains physical independence and can move about, self-control becomes an essential restraining safeguard. The beginnings of conscience or inner control become active. This self-control with regard to persons and objects, places and times is initiated in response to a beloved person in the child's life, usually the parent. Attitudes are formed about good and bad, clean and dirty. These attitudes are attached to the child's immediate world: his body functions and sensations, his affects (love, anger) his play activates and his fantasies. Without such guiding principles the child would be helplessly lost in a maze of conflicting desires and would lack the challenge to grow up. In order, then, to preserve a state of relative safety and security the child affirms the demands of his parents and soon incorporates them. Now the child can leave the mother without getting out of her sight, so to speak, because the mother's guiding hand has become part of the child's self. Within limits, the child is safe and can gradually enlarge the circle of his movements, knowing always that there is a place to which he can go back. In case the child meets with more than he can take he can always turn for comfort to his parent. The child is parent-centered. In the early years the child is not expected to stand up against too many odds and he needs for many years a place of refuge, the family.

This situation, challenged here and there, but never basically questioned, changes radically during adolescence. The process of emancipation has set in. The process is for the most part gradual. It does not necessarily coincide with sexual maturation. It gathers momentum over many years or over a few months, depending on an intricate interplay of many forces such as background, temperament, glandular development, physical status and environmental assets and

liabilities. The process can be almost imperceptible and smooth or it can be explosive, violent and sudden. Whatever form it takes it cannot be side-stepped without detriment to the individual. The younger child sitting in the family car can play the fantasy: "Now I drive far away because Mommy is bad"; the adolescent carries out the wish and either actually takes the car or, compromising, comes in later at night than he was expected. The younger child can easily accept parental control because the premium of their love rewards him amply; this price to pay for safety and peace is no longer acceptable to the adolescent. In submitting, it would seem as if he were thrown into childhood and into a familiar dependency from which he is trying to escape.

It is no minor matter that the child has in the meantime become sexually mature or at least is somewhere along the road to becoming so, and therefore experiences an increasing need for instinctual expression. Obviously the love for one's parent has become inadequate and should become so. While the adolescent craves parental understanding he often cannot accept it when he gets it, an experience well known to parents of adolescents. The emphatic rejection of parental closeness betrays its conflicted character. In this dilemma we hear the parent say in desperation, "All right—he doesn't have to love me, but why should we have to be enemies?"

This state of internal reorganization, of unsettled guiding principles, of uprooted family relationships makes the adolescent excitable, suggestible, impressionable, moody and extremely sensitive. Positive feelings like love and devotion have not yet found new channels or objects; negative feelings like defiance and opposition can easily be expressed in the family. In fact, the instability of feeling—swinging from love to defiance—is as pronounced in the adolescent as in the three-year old. The slightest frustration can set off a current of negativism and aggression. This negativism does not only strike out at the actual parent but also at the internalized parent, the conscience, which leads to unexplainable actions, moods and expectations expressed in replies like: "I knew you would say that!"

The adolescent is playing with dangerous experiences in order to test his strength; in fact, this is the only way he may become familiar with his powers. Formerly the parent protected the child from injury, bodily and emotionally; now the adolescent must gradually assume this responsibility himself. Self-control must be acquired on the new terms of "I do this because that's what I think is right." It might

well be that the adolescent will come very close to parental standards and values in the end but he needs the feeling that he arrived there on his own. This testing of reality and of one's own inner strength in the real world of adults instead of in make-believe, in play, or with toys, is a crucial experience in the growing-up process. If this self-directive capacity is not developed during adolescence, the individual is likely to keep on living in a protected environment and to carry within himself a permanent feeling of inadequacy.

Self-assertion of this experimental nature often creates opposition to the adolescent as well as threats of retaliation and punishment. Gradually, however, the adolescent learns to handle his aggressive feelings and his anxieties without parental assistance. Sooner or later he discovers the advantages of basing his actions on reason rather than on impulse. This learning process is painful and slow and should start in early adolescence rather than in the later teens. If the unavoidable clashes of minds can occur at a time when such minor matters as "bed time" or "how to spend one's money" and the like, are at stake, then it can be hoped that the more crucial choices of life, like one's vocation or marriage, will have a better basis for decision than submission or defiance. A college student I know suddenly announced to his family upon graduation a choice of vocation which was so unexpected and for which he was so completely unprepared that it was apparent that he had made his choice in defiance of the family wishes. Actually his own wishes coincided with those of the family, and the particular vocation he had chosen was distasteful, even frightening to him, filling him with misgivings and anxieties. Self-assertion if delayed so long can lead to self-destruction.

In order to arrive gradually at the capacity for self-direction the adolescent must challenge himself constantly with new experiences. These might be friendships, love, an all absorbing interest in music, movies and dancing; interest in problems of a political, philosophical, cosmic, humanitarian, social or religious nature; daydreams, self-stimulation of feelings and body sensations, transitory eccentricities in clothes, mannerisms, and the like. All this represents experimentation with oneself and the environment in order that the adolescent may find a satisfying place in a world in which the family is but a fraction of the unlimited area which the individual sets out to discover. The confusion which accompanies the

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Parents' Questions and Discussion

My three-year-old is afraid to go to sleep in the dark. She begs me to leave a light on or to leave the door open, but I'm afraid this will give her bad sleeping habits. What should I do?

Fear of the dark is frequent in children between the ages of two and six. Almost all children get over it, but parents do have to treat fears carefully. Reasoning and shaming do no good, but understanding and sympathy are really helpful. It's all right to leave the door open for a while. Let your daughter tell you when she is ready to have it closed. She may do it sooner than you expect.

At the same time, it would be well to look into the child's daily life to see what may account for the anxiety she feels. The strange shapes with which children people the dark are, in most cases, reflections of their own angers and jealousies and the guilty feelings these arouse. Is your little girl having trouble getting used to a new brother or sister? Are you or her father expecting too much of her? Three-year-olds aren't far beyond babyhood and they still need lenient standards and a great deal of reassurance and love, especially just before going to bed. Does she seem to be a happy child during the daytime or is she troubled and anxious in general? The more you can do to make her whole life happy and free from strain, the less likely she is to have prolonged fears.

We have a daughter three years old and an eight month old son. Four months ago we moved out west. Because we found no children in the new neighborhood, we decided to send our daughter to a nursery school not far away. I felt the baby was too young to leave with a stranger, and I sent Sally to school with a neighbor whom she likes. After a few days, Sally refused to go to school. I decided not to force the issue, and am keeping her at home. Now she is back to endless listening to records alone, looking at books and comforting herself with her blankets. On the days she attended school she seemed very much happier, and spent resourceful afternoons. Was I right in deciding to keep her at home?

You were very wise to follow your own good judgment and not send Sally to school by force. That certainly could not have helped her to accept leaving home, even if it had succeeded in making her stay at school. Sally has had a good deal

to contend with: a new baby when she was about two and a half years old, and then moving to a far-away, strange city.

There is no doubt that nursery school would be fine. However, many three-year-olds who haven't had the changes Sally has had, take a while to adjust to leaving their mothers. Some schools require the mothers to stay with the children for the first week, or weeks if necessary. Perhaps the baby would be perfectly all right staying with someone else you felt confidence in.

If you cannot arrange things in this way, it might be wise to drop the nursery school idea for the present. Let Sally get used to her new surroundings, and the fact that they are permanent. The baby is undoubtedly still someone to cope with, and she may need more time to accept him.

It is important not to feel too unhappy about Sally's loneliness, for she may mistake your unhappiness as being against her rather than for her. Try to have as good a time together as possible until Sally is really ready for nursery school. Often "as good a time as possible" turns out to be quite a good time, indeed.

What can I do to get my seven year old boy to stop teasing his little sister of four?

Children of seven and four, especially a boy and a girl, often have very little in common. Their interests lie in widely different directions. If they are forced to spend too much time together, or if they feel that they have to compete for their parents' attention, the fundamental relation between the two will not be a very happy one. Teasing is frequently a way of showing this. Punishment, reasoning, or moralizing won't be of much use in stopping the teasing unless you can do something to bring about a better feeling between the two children.

Could you see that each child has more activities apart from the other and arrange their days so they do not get into each other's way so often? If they have to share a room, see that they have separate places for their belongings and separate play space, even if this means blocks in the living room or dolls under the dining room table at times. The seven-year-old should spend the greater part of his time with other boys of his own age, and he shouldn't be expected to play with his sister unless he wants to.

Are you careful, too, to see that she does not annoy him needlessly or destroy his pet possessions? Sometimes parents are not aware of the way in which a younger child provokes an older one, especially if tattling is encouraged. It's quite possible that your daughter is more to blame than her brother. When teasing and tattling have become the rule, it's best for parents not to take sides or punish either child. Parents who suggest a way out and something else to do are much more helpful to both children.

Teasing may be the result of minor frictions or it may express a deeper jealousy. Are both your children sure of their place in your affections? Has either any real reason to feel jealous? You may need to think through your relations to both of them more carefully before you can hope to help them get on with each other.

My boy is fifteen. Lately, lots of girls have been telephoning him. Naturally this has gone to his head and it is taking time from his homework. I regret to see the girl business start so soon. What can I do about it?

Parents just have to realize there are developments in their children's lives which they can't control. Boys and girls must begin to have an interest in each other in adolescence if they are to have normal happy lives. Some youngsters start a little earlier than others, but you can't delay their maturing to fit your own ideas of suitability. You might just as well try to keep your boy little by putting a brick on his head. If he is the popular type—as he seems to be—perhaps his school work will suffer a bit for a while. He may learn presently to handle both claims on his time more successfully, especially if you talk it over with him and help him to plan. After all, there are other things in life just as important as homework.

Suggestions for Study: The Child's Emotional Health

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

I. THE EARLIEST YEARS

Dr. Stone tells us that parents today are worried about the heavy responsibility which is theirs in helping their young children through the first years of life. "For many parents the awareness of their important role results in loss of spontaneity, and in genuine anxiety

about the shattering responsibility of rearing the young." They know that their children's experiences in the early years will set the pattern for the kind of adolescents and adults they become. Parents may take comfort in the fact that our recent scientific thinking about how best to "grow" children comes forth with suggestions to mothers and fathers that are neither "stultifying nor terrifying." Be honest with our children, love them, delight with them in their exciting adventure of growing, and help them to respect the worth and dignity of people everywhere. Parents are encouraged to feel confident in their ability and fitness to get their children off to a good start.

II. THE TEACHER CAN HELP

The schools in 1946 and 1947 are seeing in their kindergartens and first grades the first batch of war babies, those born after Pearl Harbor. Some of them are "fifty," some of them are "whiny," some of them are too good and too quiet for normal young children. Some of them have come through the war experience in fine shape. For those who have not, and for all children at all times whose needs are not met in the early years, the school can be the "friend in need." The teacher, even as she carries on her regular daily program, can to some extent make up "to these children now for what they missed and what they want." The sensitive teacher has always done this, and increasingly more teachers must come to see their important role in helping children along the way.

III. THE ESSENCE OF ADOLESCENT CHANGE

Dr. Bloss brings years of experience to back his statement that the most pressing problem which the adolescent faces is how to achieve emotional independence. It is during the adolescent years, from about the age of twelve on, that the individual must find constructive ways in which to grow away from his emotional dependence on his family into new relationships in the society about him. "If this is not accomplished during the years of its biological designation," says Dr. Bloss, "it will be made up later, if at all, only with great sacrifice and suffering." During the adolescent years, the growing individual needs help and it is from reasonable and understanding adults that the best help will come.

IV. PROBLEM PARENTS

The recent cry to "punish the parent" for a child's "bad" behavior must be stemmed. It will bring no better results than the no longer accepted attitude of "punish the child." The difficulties parents themselves are facing which often underlie their children's difficulties need to be seen in a spirit of understanding and friendliness. Some parents can be helped in simple ways, in the ways a good friend and neighbor can help. Others, with more deep-seated problems, will need more expert help. There is need today for more of both kinds of help, more friendliness and neighborliness for young parents who "feel surrounded by strangers who don't care," as well as more facilities for psychiatric guidance of deeply troubled parents.

QUESTIONS TO ANSWER

1. Do you agree with Dr. Stone's statement that even as parents teach respect for differences, they should "take a firm stand on any fundamental issue?" Is there danger that children might be brought up with prejudiced views on fundamental issues if parents say, "we happen to believe thus and so, and we think *they're* wrong, silly or bad?"

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Annual Report of the Child Study Association of America—1946

PARENT education is on a rising tide—this is our pervasive feeling as we think back over the past year. It was moving upward and forward after the First World War but now it is moving in all directions and under many different guises. The Child Study Association is tied in closely with this new development—its resources, its techniques, its opportunities.

It may be well at this point to look at some of the historical landmarks in the field of parent education.

The name "Child Study" has long since lost its original rather literal connotation, but it has served a very useful purpose through the years. For, when our Association began, "parent education" was not the widely recognized need that it is today. It has taken a generation or more for fathers and mothers, in any large numbers, to acknowledge that they had anything to learn. Today almost everyone is prepared to admit both ignorance and confusion concerning a thousand daily problems about which yesterday's parents rarely felt any doubts.

The rapid rise of interest in child study after the first World War suggested that a new professional specialty was developing—experts in parent education to aid in building programs, training leaders or guiding educational policy. This trend was given both public and professional encouragement when the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial established grants for such training in several colleges and universities and made possible numerous fellowships. The education departments of several states and cities created divisions of parent and family life education.

By 1924 such a great variety of institutions were actively concerned with "child study" and "parent education" that the Child Study Association called a week's conference to explore the possibilities of coordinating the many efforts in this field. It proved difficult to find even fifteen persons sufficiently qualified and representative to enter into such a project. That week's consultation resulted in the formation of the National Council on Parent Education. When a second conference was held the following year, so many individuals and groups had made contact with the Council that it was difficult to keep the invitations down to sixty.

By 1929 the National Society for the Study of Education chose "Pre-School and Parental Education" as the subject of its 800-page Year Book and to this the Child Study Association made substantial contributions. The following year the Association's director acted as chairman for the National Council on Parent Education of an important subcommittee at the White House Conference on Child Health and Welfare. Volume III-A of the White House Conference reports was devoted to the sessions arranged by this committee and furnished a comprehensive survey of the "Types of Parent Education" then being attempted and descriptions of methods and materials.

The depression and the termination of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial grants reduced many activities; but the WPA set up numerous courses in leader-training and formed hundreds of instruction and guidance groups for mothers.

Among the prominent leaders in parent education who made up the National Council's Board of Directors, it was recognized that to meet growing demands of parents for help it would be necessary to enlist the interest of all specialists working with children or with family problems. This expansion was encouraged despite the danger of diffusing effort among many unrelated agencies. Thus, parent education gradually became part of the task of pediatricians, home economics teachers, visiting nurses, mental hygienists and social workers, ministers and librarians. It became clear also that our understanding of children must be constantly enriched by the observations and conclusions of doctors, nursery school workers and other educators of young children, psychiatrists, community workers and special investigators.

Today the importance of the family and its needs is so generally recognized that all sorts of groups, agencies and individuals are getting on the "parent education" band-wagon. But there is as yet no direction for the trend. The great need for coordination is evident. More centers are necessary in which parent education is the main concern. It is essential to secure closer cooperation among workers and agencies.

While we continue to work directly with parents and to organize for wider use the outcome of the various projects, the Child Study Association is in effect and on a small scale an unofficial clearing house

of information on scientific or professional resources, on agencies and institutions, and on effective methods in parent education. As the need grows, our opportunities to serve parent education are limited only by our means.

* * * *

In the work of the Association, something new is always happening and it is not always easy to classify our activities for the record. There is, however, a general pattern and it is necessary from time to time to restate this as well as to reexamine our programs and procedures.

In the metropolitan area, the Association conducts an active and varied program. Nationally and internationally it is known chiefly through its publications; through lectures and magazine articles by staff members; through the use of its materials by many colleges, nursery school teachers and parent-teacher associations, and by many official and voluntary health, welfare and educational agencies; and through references to its activities and publications in newspapers, magazines and books by others.

Aside from writing and editing and administering our publications and printed material and our constant communication with individuals and agencies everywhere, our basic activities continue to include direct work with parents, in two different ways. Primary perhaps are our contacts with parents who come for specific information or for help with their own problems. Then come the much larger numbers whom the Association reaches through study groups, conferences and lectures.

In addition to these services and activities at Headquarters, the Association arranges conferences and takes part in conferences arranged by official and voluntary agencies. Members of the staff lecture to many lay groups, to colleges, universities, summer schools, and so on. The Association cooperates with many organizations and institutions concerned with children, with the family, with education or with general welfare, and it sends out printed matter.

The distinctive quality of the Association's activities has been ascribed to *our constant use of direct experience with parents and their problems* as the basis for interpreting the findings of scientists and of various professional workers, as well as for developing our methods of dealing with those whom we seek to reach. The Association thus represents a continuous integration of what we might call the "clinical" or practical with the results of research, experimentation in methods, and our educational efforts.

A mere listing of the many varied activities of this past year cannot give a true picture of the vitality of our work. The opportunities in the parent education field are so great and the possibilities for experimenting with new projects and techniques are so numerous that the Association is being constantly challenged to participate in every way. In summarizing the work of the past year, we have arbitrarily divided the high points enumerated into Headquarters activities and National and International activities.

A. HEADQUARTERS

I. Family Counseling Service

The Family Counseling Service has completed its twentieth year. This Service is unique in that it operates as part of an educational organization. Because it is one of many activities of the Association, parents frequently feel freer to come for help on family problems than they do in going to hospital clinics, social service agencies, or even private psychiatrists.

Parents come to the Counseling Service largely from the study groups and the membership of the Association. Almost as many come direct to the Service because they had "always known of it" or because they were referred by a physician or a teacher.

Many parents come for one or two visits to check up on what is going on at home and to get further support or suggestions. In other cases the parents or the child or both may be seen over a period of months. In addition, the Service refers to other agencies families in which severe physical or mental disability, acute economic stress, or other problems, such as legal difficulties, indicate that their needs can be better met elsewhere.

Parents coming to the Service are mostly from the middle income group, although many can afford to pay little or nothing. The educational level is fairly high, and frequently includes some years of college for both parents. Most of the others have had high school education. They are on the whole well-informed, alert to the fact that their own personal problems are bound to affect their children and, therefore, start with an attitude of responsibility which is favorable.

The staff of the Counseling Service today consists of three part-time counselors. All three have been psychoanalyzed and have also had experience in teaching or social work. The service is supervised by a psychiatrist with whom the counselors meet periodically. In addition, another psychiatrist who has dealt with children's problems gives one day a week to diagnostic interviews with certain children and their parents. In some cases she may also

undertake psychotherapy. Rorschach tests are given either by a member of the staff or by an outside psychologist, where indicated.

During the nine months of 1946 there were 890 interviews; 54 of these were with families of servicemen or veterans. According to the established policy of the Association, families of servicemen and veterans were served without charge. At the end of the year the staff was fully booked for six weeks ahead and there were urgent requests for appointments from a large number of parents, "as soon as possible."

In December, a lay committee was formed to further the development of the Service. The committee plans to strengthen the educational use of the experience gained from the Service and to explore the availability of other counseling resources in the metropolitan area. It is hoped that the committee's efforts will lead to a coordination of the various similar undertakings and to closer cooperation among them.

II. Study Groups

Study groups have always been an important means of retaining direct contact with mothers. Two study courses, "Everyday Problems" and "Growing Up in School and Out," were offered in the spring and repeated in the fall. The former attracted 131 mothers and the latter 174; most of them became members of the Association.

III. Lectures

A course of eight lectures on "The Child in School" was planned for mothers and fathers as well as professional workers. The lectures were well attended.

Special meetings for members offered lectures on: *Rivalries and Jealousies between Brothers and Sisters*, Dr. Mary O'Neil Hawkins; *The Place of Radio and Comics in the Life of the Child*, the Staff members; *Can We Learn about Children from Books?*, Dr. Carl Binger; *The Development of the School Age Child*, Dr. Frances L. Ilg and Dr. Abraham A. Fabian; *Your Child's Emotional Health—Where Does It Begin?*, Dr. Benjamin Spock.

The attendance at these lectures and meetings was exceptionally good: at two of them, hundreds had to be turned away. The large proportion of fathers present at the lecture series on "The Child in School" was especially gratifying.

IV. Committees

(1) Bibliography

The major project of this committee has been the evaluation of books dealing with parents, children and family problems which have been published during the

last twenty years. The committee examined 140 new books and compiled a supplementary list of 33 titles of special value to parents, teachers, and professional workers in the fields of child guidance, family relations, and social work.

(2) Children's Books

This committee reviewed 750 new books published during 1946, and selected about 250 for its annual Christmas exhibit held during December. The exhibit was opened with a meeting addressed by Dr. Margaret Mead and Harry Haenigsen, the artist. In addition to its annual list of "Books of the Year for Children" the committee prepared a list of "Magazines for Children and Young People" and revised its list, "Let Them Face It: Today's World in Books for Boys and Girls." Another list, "The American Scene—Past and Present—in Books for Young People" is being revised.

Four collections of stories for children were prepared by the committee, three of them at the request of the Whitman Publishing Company. *Children's Stories*, containing 46 stories and 7 poems, beautifully illustrated, is to sell for \$1 and will be published in 1947. *Best Loved Stories* and a Christmas book have also been completed. The fourth, a collection of 30 stories and 16 verses for very young children, is being illustrated by Lois Lenski, and will be published by the Thomas Y. Crowell Company in September, 1947.

Valuable suggestions on the plans and activities of the committee came from a luncheon conference with representatives of 30 publishers.

(3) Radio

The Radio Committee sponsored a meeting in March to focus attention on the efforts of producers of children's programs to introduce material on intercultural and social attitudes. About 50 educators and representatives of interested organizations met with producers and agencies promoting children's programs to listen to records and to discuss the best means of incorporating material in programs for children. The committee has continued to contribute reviews of programs and comment on radio to CHILD STUDY magazine.

(4) Parent Education Radio Committee

Arrangements were made for a series of broadcasts over Station WNEW, New York, under the title *For Parents*. A staff member is to participate on each broadcast, with two specialists in various fields, on such problems as music, discipline, art, school, play, etc. Members of the staff have also broadcast over various other stations.

V. Library

The Alice Morgenthau Ehrich Memorial Library has been constantly used by participants in courses and discussion groups and by clients of the counseling service. The principal demand, as always, has come from mothers of pre-school children, although parents and teachers and other professionals who deal with children of all ages have borrowed books in growing numbers. There have been added during the year 61 new titles and 68 duplicate volumes to meet the increasing demand.

VI. Speakers' Bureau

The Bureau reached a larger number of communities and more kinds of groups than ever before. Among new kinds of groups served were two groups of families of ex-service men attended by both husbands and wives; a summer series of forum discussion meetings for ministers and YMCA secretaries and their wives at Silver Bay, New York; a Girl Scout Council in New Jersey, and the Sociology Club of New York University. The Speakers' Bureau has been unable to meet the growing demand for speakers.

VII. School and Camp Information Service

Requests for information about schools and camps were received from 756 persons, of whom 527 were interviewed. Well over half of these requests were for data about schools; others were for help in choosing camps. Letters asking for help and information in both fields were received from 20 states and the District of Columbia.

VIII. Cooperation with Local Agencies

The staff cooperated with the Caroline Zachry Institute of Human Development, the Child Guidance Bureau and other agencies in forming a New York City Committee on Parent Education; with Kips Bay-Yorkville District Health Committee in planning a course for teachers in service to be given in 1947; and with an Albany, New York, committee in planning a local Conference on Parent Education to be held in 1947. Members of the staff delivered single or a series of lectures in cooperation with various schools and other organizations such as the Parents' League, New York; the courses for expectant mothers at the Maternity Center Association, New York; and the Jefferson School. A staff member also took part in two forums of children in public schools in New York.

IX. Publications

(1) Parents' Questions

As the demand for *Parents' Questions*, first published in

1936, continued, the staff undertook a complete revision of the book with two new chapters; the new edition is expected early in the spring of 1947.

(2) Book List

The first publication of the Bird Stein Gans Memorial Fund was planned and edited by the Bibliography Committee. The Committee has reconsidered all important books concerning parents, children, and the family published in the past twenty years for a careful selection of those likely to be most valuable. A classified and annotated list of the book selected will be published early in 1947.

(3) CHILD STUDY

For the second time subscriptions to CHILD STUDY increased 20 per cent over those of the preceding year. This is especially encouraging since the subscription rate was changed last spring from \$1 to \$1.50 a year. The magazine goes to all the states and territories and 21 foreign countries. Several of the articles printed during the year were of sufficient interest to warrant reprinting. Among these were: *Jealousy and Rivalry in Children*, *Psychological Management of the Baby in Maternity Hospitals*, and *The Psychological Test—Panacea or Myth?*

B. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

I. National

(1) Annual Conference

The subject of the Annual Conference held at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York, March 4, 1946, was: EDUCATION: THE FAMILY'S STAKE IN ITS FUTURE. Over 1,000 persons attended the sessions. Brigadier General William C. Menninger, Dr. Lauretta Bender, Austin H. McCormick, Dr. Leona Baumgartner, and Dr. Ernest G. Osborne discussed "New Vistas in Mental Hygiene." Dr. Bender's talk, *There Is No Substitute for Family Life*, was reprinted from CHILD STUDY magazine in the bulletin of the Child Welfare League and received wide distribution.

At the afternoon session, "What Kind of Schooling for the Years Ahead?" was discussed by Dean Ernest O. Melby, School of Education, New York University; James Marshall, Member of the Board of Education of the City of New York; President Harold Taylor, Sarah Lawrence College; and Alice Stewart, Research Associate, Institute of School Experimentation, Teachers College, Columbia University.

(2) Cooperation with Other Agencies

The President and the Director of the Child Study Association participated in the panel on the "Home" at the National Conference on the Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, called by the Attorney General at Washington.

A staff member was discussion leader in the group, considering "How the Home Can Better Aid in the Improvement of American Citizenship," in the First National Conference on Citizenship in Philadelphia, sponsored by the National Education Association.

Two members of the staff took leading parts in the two-day Parent Education Conference at Atlantic City called by the Parent Education Clearing House.

At the invitation of the Motion Picture Association a member of the staff addressed distributors on criteria for judging films to be shown to children.

A staff member lectured at the Ohio Conference on the Pre-School Child, Cleveland.

A staff member was chairman of the children's program session at the Ohio State University Institute for Education by Radio, and also participated in the panel at the meeting of the Philadelphia Association for Education by Radio.

A member of the staff lectured and conducted institutes in various communities in the State of Utah, under the auspices of the Family Life Education Division of the State Department of Public Instruction; and lectured at a meeting of the Mental Hygiene Society of Northern California, San Francisco.

The Director of the Association was chairman of the Interim Committee engaged in reconstituting the National Council on Parent Education into a membership organization—the National Committee on Parent Education; and was then chairman of the Board of Directors of the new agency now planning further programs and activities.

(3) Committee Representation

Members of the staff have served on boards and committees of various national organizations: National Commission on Children and Youth, U. S. Children's Bureau, which replaced the National Committee on Children in Wartime; Religious Book Week, sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews; and Education Committee of *Survey Associates*.

(4) Consultation

a. Publishers

Staff members have served as advisory editors or members of advisory boards of the Junior Literary Guild, Fawcett Publications, Children's Book Club, a collection

of fairy tales for Citadel Press, a group of publications for Random House, and a group of comic books.

Three staff members have contributed chapters to the parents' volumes of "Childcraft," a children's encyclopaedia; one contributed to a collection of fairy tales; and supervised adaptations of two classics for Random House.

Staff members were interviewed in connection with articles in *Life* magazine and for educational advertisements placed by the Life Insurance Companies of America in 350 newspapers.

b. Radio

CHILD STUDY is one of the few journals to carry critical columns on radio programs for children.

A staff member helped organize and participated in a series of three forums on "The Influence of Radio, Motion Pictures and Comics on Children" which were carried by a national network.

A staff member was consultant for three afternoon children's radio serials.

Staff members frequently are called on by major networks for advice and information on various problems. Other staff and board members participated in many network programs concerned with parent education.

(5) Publications

a. Pamphlets

Approximately 265,000 pamphlets, reprints, and book lists were distributed to individuals and organizations. Among the organizations and agencies which ordered pamphlets in quantities (to a total of over 45,000), were the national headquarters of the American Red Cross, American Social Hygiene Association, New York State Committee on Mental Hygiene, Dell Publishing Company, The Association for Family Living, Woman's Home Companion, and various public health and educational agencies as the Mississippi State Board of Health; Department of Education, Halifax, Nova Scotia; Board of Health, Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, etc.

b. Articles

Staff members have written articles for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Social Work Yearbook*, *Parents' Magazine*, *Schools at Work* (publication of Education Section, U. S. Savings Bond Division of the Treasury Department), *Woman's Day*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *True Confessions*, *My Baby*, *Baby Talk*, *Two-to-Six*, *Arts in Childhood*, *Pageant*, *Ideas*, and publications of the Children's Book Club and the Surprise Package Book Club.

II. International

Dr. Ernest G. Osborne, vice-president of CSA and professor of education at Teachers College, went to China, under the auspices of China Aid Council of the United Service to China.

A member of our staff took part in the discussion of a committee considering plans for the schooling of children of the United Nations Secretariat.

The Quartermaster Division of the War Department ordered 48 subscriptions to CHILD STUDY magazine for information centers, departments of education, graphic display offices, etc., in Berlin, Vienna, Bremen, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and other European cities.

A bookseller in Shanghai negotiated for a large number of subscriptions to CHILD STUDY because of the great interest in American magazines in China. Subscriptions to CHILD STUDY went to 21 foreign countries: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, China, England, Greece, Guatemala, India, New Zealand, Norway, Palestine, Philippine Islands, Russia, Sweden, Syria, Tasmania, Turkey, Union of South Africa, and West Africa.

At the request of the Parent Education Committee of the United Welfare Chest of Toronto, Canada, a staff member lectured eight times to different groups.

A member of the staff presided at a closed professional gathering arranged by the American Russian Institute to discuss the report on the care of children made by an American pediatrician who had returned from a visit to the U.S.S.R.

The Jamia Millia Islamia of New Delhi, India, invited the Association to send published materials for an exhibition at the celebration of its Silver Jubilee.

The Association has been invited to participate in the International Congress of Family Education to be held at a future date in Belgium.

Publications of the Association were sent in response to requests from organizations or public agencies in Japan, France, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia.

Members of the staff conferred at the request of UNRRA with governmental agents of Poland and Greece who were returning to their countries to direct child welfare activities.

SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG,
Director.

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BOOK**

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CHILDREN'S RADIO PROGRAMS

IN AN EFFORT to invite new and fresh talent into the creation and production of radio programs for children, the Child Study Association of America in cooperation with the Robert Maxwell Associates announces an award of \$1,000 for a new and original idea for a children's radio program. The program selected will be assured network production for thirteen weeks, and the award will carry royalties should it be sold to a sponsor.

Judges who will select the winning program will be Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Miss Helen Hayes, Dr. Mary Fisher Langmuir, and Edgar Kobak.

It is the hope of its sponsors that this award will serve to focus attention upon this great medium for children's entertainment and cultural education, and the need to develop far greater and more creative use of its potentialities for children's pleasure and profit.

Entry forms, rules and instructions may be obtained from the Award Committee, Child Study Association of America, 221 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y. Entries must be received on or before May 1.

Recent additions to afternoon programs on the networks:

Adventure Parade. Mutual. Monday through Friday. 4:30-4:45 EST.

A dramatic reading of some of the all-time favorites of adventure literature in serial form: *Kidnapped*, *Call of the Wild*, *King of the Golden River*, etc. Faithful to the text and spirit of the originals, the stories are skillfully abridged and adapted for radio with effective musical bridges. Mutual is presenting this as a public service program in response to frequent suggestions from parents and educators that the "classics" be given air-time. Whether it will successfully compete with current adventure serials for young listeners' attention will be watched with great interest. (For a wide age range.)

Buck Rogers. Mutual. Monday through Friday. 4:45-5:00 P.M. EST.

Revival of an earlier thriller in which the adventures are projected into the twenty-fifth century. Space-ships, rockets and other pseudo-scientific predictions of the future carry the hero and heroine to strange planets and encounters with their weird inhabitants. Fast-paced and imaginative in a way that will appeal to listeners from eight to twelve. J. F.

Book Reviews

Their Mothers' Sons. By Edward A. Strecker, M.D.
220 pp. J. B. Lippincott, 1946. \$2.75.

"Their Mothers' Sons" is Dr. Strecker's case against American "moms" who keep their children from growing up. It is also a serious and timely warning to the nation of the heavy price we all pay for condoning immaturity and being sentimental about "Dear Mom." Overprotecting or rejecting moms—a "mom" is a "woman who has failed in the elementary mother function of weaning her offspring emotionally as well as physically"—are not new on the American scene. But it has taken a world war and the urgency of impending disaster felt by a psychiatrist to bring "mom" and her surrogates to trial before the bar of public opinion.

We must face the fact that "about 3,000,000 men were either rejected or otherwise lost to the service for neuropsychiatric reasons out of 15,000,000—just a bit under 20 per cent." Even though we must not lose sight of the 80 per cent of our young men (and their mothers) who were able to "face life" and "take" the discipline, deprivations, and hardships of war, Dr. Strecker is right in warning us about the implications in the failure of 20 per cent. Now that the fighting has stopped, the problem of immaturity is more not less serious. The 3,000,000 young men who failed to meet the tests of wartime are no better prepared to meet the requirements of post-war living. The national task of making peace in our time is proving to require even greater stamina and maturity than winning a war. Some of the 80 per cent who successfully or brilliantly met the tests of war are now becoming the casualties of peace.

Dr. Strecker's greatest service lies in helping us see that the immaturity revealed so dramatically by the psychoneurotics discovered in wartime is the basic problem of democracy. "Mom is a surface fissure warning us of deeper defects" in a civilization which is becoming too externalized—too extroverted. "The leveling and regimentation demanded by a strongly extroverted society" also contribute to the mental diseases and nervous breakdowns which are proving to be so wasteful and costly.

Even though "Mom is a surface fissure," the book is primarily about mothers and the importance of their contribution to society. In the chapter on "The Mother's Dilemma," Dr. Strecker points out that

maturity is not an inborn trait, but the result of environment, early training and unselfish parental love. "It is a delicately balanced conflict of clinging and rejecting and, depending on which way the balance is tipped, the child either learns to meet successfully the larger give-and-take aspects of mature living, or he doesn't. If the give-and-take capacity is not developed, the child will fail to adjust himself to his own life and to society. As a result, the child never grows up. He remains emotionally immature."

It is in this context of learning "to give and take" that progressive education is discussed and indicted as "a part of the mom-fostering system." Dr. Strecker carefully points out that progressive education "corrected," in the early days, some of the difficulties of traditional education. He mentions specifically the "too rigid, almost Prussian authority in the school-room" and the "very grim fear of failure in the classroom." It is also fair to point out, as he does, that in many instances there was "overcorrection" and that insufficient guidance, direction and control followed in some so-called progressive schools.

Such criticism is valid and helpful, and to the point. However, since he makes such a point of the weaknesses and excesses of progressive education, it is unfortunate that Dr. Strecker could not take the time to study recent developments in modern education. In the interest of accuracy and fair reporting, it is important for readers to know that progressive education does *not* "strive to eliminate competition." Nor does modern education say "there shall be no rewards for success and no penalties for failure"; nor is "class standing abolished so that no child shall feel humiliated or pained by the knowledge that another child is handling the academic work better than he is." Instead, modern education is seriously and responsibly trying to teach the child "to share and give and concede and to think independently," those very kinds of learning which Dr. Strecker himself emphasizes as of major importance if maturity is to be achieved. Penalties for failure and incentives to independent achievement are also recognized by responsible educators to be as necessary in school living as Dr. Strecker points out they are at home.

Boys and girls who attend good schools will have less need to stay emotionally tied to their mothers—and less need to keep their own children immature when they become parents in their own turn. The

"mom types," and "the mom proxies" and the "moms in pants" and the "mom in a bottle" (alcoholism) and the "momarchies" (authoritarian governments) which Dr. Strecker describes with such relish and effectiveness cannot long survive a truly sound and democratic education.

MARY FISHER LANGMUIR

My County School Diary. By Julia Weber. 270 pp. Harper & Bros., 1946. \$3.00.

This is the story of the development of a dynamic program in a one-room country school in New Jersey in the days just preceding World War II. It is a book written with charm and insight about the experiences of one teacher who seriously felt her responsibility toward the children in her care and who faced her many problems with courage, inspiration and a real love of children and of people.

Miss Weber was induced to present her diary for publication in the hope that it would "weight the balance in favor of the kind of education that will make a difference in the living of people." It would be a very indifferent teacher, indeed, who could read the book without catching some of its enthusiasm. Parents, too, can share this enthusiasm.

The country school was located in an isolated community. The children from grades one to eight needed the tools of learning but also needed to broaden their interests and develop their intellectual curiosity. How Miss Weber in her four years with them let the children's interests guide the choice of topics for study, where in the community she found her materials for study, and how she enlisted the help and cooperation of the parents and other adults adds up to a dramatic description of how a community can be integrated around its schoolhouse.

Miss Weber made it a part of her program to get to know the parents and the home situation of each child. Parent cooperation came slowly, but it came, and when several years later a question arose as to whether the country school should be abandoned and the children transported to a town school, the parents voted for the continuation of the school. This vote came at a time when Miss Weber had gone away to assume other responsibilities, after a succession of poor teachers, and at a moment when the schoolhouse itself was in great disrepair. So well had Miss Weber built, however, that the community knew what it wanted—the kind of democratic, first-hand, community-centered education which can be made to function in our day when more and more gifted teachers become available.

JEAN REX

THE EARLIEST YEARS

(Continued from page 40)

as in the case of religious and social differences. Some people have polish on their nails, some do not; some people have red hair, some have black; some people wear brown shoes, others wear saddle oxfords; some people live in apartments, some in houses; some people brush their teeth before breakfast and some after; some people say grace at the table and some do not. This can be done easily in little bits, following the child's questions or cues. As in all development and learning, the progress may be slow. If we can help our children to perceive and to accept differences with interest and without anxieties, a matter-of-fact acceptance of some of the group differences which underlie so many of the tragically tense relations of our society will be much more feasible.

Too many parents and educators have interpreted this approach to mean that we must be wishy-washy and not take a firm stand on any fundamental issues. Certainly this is not what is intended. If we feel it, in some situations our obligation is to say honestly, "... we happen to believe thus-and-so and we think *they're* wrong or silly, or bad." If we think the Nazis are evil, it is our obligation to tell our children so simply and directly; our values are their only guides in the early years. But even with four- and five-year-olds it is possible to make clear that we do not condemn people in terms of *who* they are, but what they *do*, or what they *stand* for.

In the process of urging children to respect other individuals we must expect that they will be initially overviolent in attacking those who seem not to do so. On the whole, this is healthy. In part, we are harking back here to the earlier recommendation of emotional frankness and honesty. No child will accept an explicit or implied statement that he should treat everyone the same or like everyone equally, when he knows perfectly well that we do not. But we can encourage him to judge individuals for themselves and not in terms of *irrelevant* categories.

If we are reasonably confident of our own common sense, if we are reasonably in harmony with the world around us, if we are reasonably affectionate toward the other members of our family, if we surround our children with a reasonably rich and varied and honest intellectual and emotional atmosphere, and if on the whole we like and respect our children (as well as love them), we can be reasonably confident of our ability and fitness to bring them from infancy to the point where they pack lunch and a reader and set out in their new dignity as First Graders.

Children's Books

Parents, Children and Fairy Tales

THE recent appearance of beautifully illustrated, inclusive editions of the classic fairy tales has raised anew the question whether these tales should be read to our children. Many parents feel that there is danger in this reading. What are the assumptions underlying this attitude?

One of the most frequent parental objections is that these stories are full of violence, trickery, cruelty and other kinds of undesirable behavior, which the children are likely to imitate. The assumption that children will become cruel or tricky by reading about cruel tricky characters is open to question. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence from psychiatric sources that such stories provide a harmless outlet for impulses which are forbidden in real life. This view of the "cathartic" function of stories seems difficult for some parents to accept. They fear lest undesirable impulses—allowed *any* outlet, even a vicarious one—may become a part of behavior. Psychologists, however, suggest that a child who plays out his destructive impulses in dramatic play or stories may be less likely to resort to cruder forms of destructiveness than the child who lacks these outlets.

Another parental objection to fairy tales is that they are frightening. Incidents are related of children who have bad dreams about witches and giants. They carry the implication that if the children had not read these tales, they would not have had the terrifying dreams. We know, however, that fears occur in children spontaneously, as part of their emotional development. For instance, when a child has impulses to bite people, he has fantasies of being bitten and eaten up in retaliation, whether or not he has read *Little Red Riding Hood*. When a child has the wish to throw out the new baby, he has the fantasy that he himself will be thrown out, with or without having read *Hansel and Gretel*.

Fairy tales do correspond to many of these spontaneous fears of children. They do not implant fears, but rather give expression to fears already present. Perhaps there is value in the verbalization of these fears in a story, for here they are shared with others, and given some distance from the self. In this way the reading may even bring relief from indefinite, wordless, solitary fear.

For the great majority of children fairy tales are not unduly frightening. Moreover, for some children

fear, in manageable quantities, may even be an enjoyable emotion. For anxious and fearful children, however, frightening stories may release more fear than they can handle. Such children may need to be protected from stories which play into particular anxieties with which they are already struggling. It is important to know the capacities and needs of the individual child.

Many parents are disturbed by the fact that fairy tales abound in cruel mothers and fathers. They fear that children will be upset by the suggestion that parents may leave children to starve in the woods, cut off their heads, or otherwise mistreat them. But most children, by the time they are five or thereabouts, are able to distinguish between story and reality. Furthermore, "bad" mothers and fathers are usually present in children's private fantasies no matter how kindly and loving their real parents may be. Such fantasies are the product of inevitable frustrations in the child's life and of the anger which they arouse in him. The bad witch and the fairy godmother express the two sides of the child's ambivalent feeling.

Ordinarily, a child who reads about *Jack* killing the giant, or *Hansel and Gretel* killing the witch, does not recognize that this is related to his own feeling toward people in real life. All good literature provides such disguises. Through them we can gratify vicariously our forbidden impulses of love and hate with little anxiety because we do not recognize them as our own.

The question is often raised whether the traditional fairy tales aren't out of step with today's living. The bad woman in the fairy tale, for instance, is frequently a stepmother. With the present prevalence of divorce and remarriage, women who are trying to win the affection of stepchildren may fear that stories of wicked stepmothers will be prejudicial. The fact is that children often think of "own" mothers as bad, or as being not really their own. Hence the persistence of this pattern. Certainly, some adaptation of traditional fairy tales to contemporary needs might be in order, more for the sake of modern stepmothers than for their children. But despite anachronisms, the basic themes of the old fairy tales remain emotionally meaningful.

Another aspect of fairy tales which has aroused

parental qualms is the severity of the punishments meted out to the wicked. Some recent revisions replace this by moderation or total forgiveness. Such endings are likely to be disappointing to children. In the early stages of their moral development, children tend to think in extreme and drastic terms. It is not necessary for their eventual development into tolerant adults that they should, as children, accept mild treatment for fairy tale villains.

It would seem that fairy tales provide something which is largely lacking in other kinds of literature for children. They are often tragedies, although on a childish level. In tragedies for adults, people who do forbidden things *end* by suffering for it. In fairy tales, they suffer *first* in order to end up with the fulfillment of their wishes. *Jack*, having been cheated, scolded, threatened and chased, is justified in robbing and killing the giant. *Cinderella*, having suffered sufficiently, can triumph over her sisters and marry the prince. It is perhaps significant that the adult aversion to fairy tales has developed at a time when tragedy has almost disappeared from the stage. Can it be that people find it increasingly difficult to face the literary expression of the "dangers of being human?"

Are fairy tales, then, suitable for reading to *all* children? Here, as with other matters relating to children, generalization is dangerous. Certainly it would be foolish to force fairy tales on a child who does not like them, or who shows unfavorable reactions to them. As with other kinds of stories, parents will adapt their reading to the tastes and interests of the children. But the tastes of the parents are also important, for the mother who finds a certain tale repugnant or sinister will almost certainly communicate this feeling to the child by her tone of voice or muscular tension. This feeling-tone is more likely to prove upsetting than the story itself. One of the conditions which make a fairy tale, with whatever terrors it may contain, safe and pleasant for the child, is having it read to him in a warm secure atmosphere. The moment, too, is a factor in selection. A story that corresponds too closely to a current anxiety should be postponed.

We must recognize, too, that fairy tales are not equally appropriate for all ages. While the simpler patterns of such tales as *The Three Bears* may delight a four-year-old, most of the traditional fairy tales are not suitable for children under six. This may be due less to the emotional content (which is by no means alien to younger children) than to the complicated structure of the stories. Children under six usually cannot follow the involved plots of many of

the traditional fairy tales. The dramatic events become disturbing because of the confusion as to what is going on. There are a few good simplified versions, such as *Wanda Gag's*, for five- and six-year-olds. From six through nine, or even older, most children enjoy fairy tales of various types, though some of the recent editions of *Grimm* and *Andersen* retain an involved story structure and selections which make them unsuitable even for this age. A child who can read fairy tales to himself may well be allowed to follow his own taste.

MARTHA WOLFENSTEIN

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

(Continued from page 47)

- 2. In what specific ways could a parent study group encourage the teachers in their school in their attempts to give children a wholesome environment for sound emotional growth?
- 3. Discuss Dr. Bos' suggestion that "the rapidly changing mores of our times bring confusion to some adolescents as they seek to formulate their standards and values." What evidence of such confusion do you find among the adolescents you know?
- 4. What facilities are available in your community for helping young parents through difficult moments? Could more be done in a neighborly fashion, and in providing expert guidance?

REFERENCE READING

Baby and Child Care.....1946
by Benjamin Spock, M.D. Pocket Books, N. Y.
Helping Teachers Understand Children.....1945
by the Staff of the Division on Child Development and Teacher
Personnel American Council on Education, Chicago
The Adolescent Personality.....1941
by Peter Bos Appleton-Century
Parents' Questions.....Revised, 1947, Harper, N. Y.
by the staff of the Child Study Association of America

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News and Notes

Program "For Parents"

A new radio program, "For Parents," was launched on Tuesday, January 21, by the Child Study Association in cooperation with station WNEW in New York City. This informal discussion program, to be heard every Tuesday evening, 9 to 9:30, will take up typical problems and questions of parents in relation to their children. The opening broadcast was on the subject of "Your Child and Music" with Dean Dixon, conductor of the American Youth and NBC Symphony Orchestras, Frank Luther, children's recording artist, and Sidonie M. Gruenberg, director of Child Study Association, as participants. Questions from the studio audience were answered by the discussants. "Your Child and the Movies" was the second subject for discussion, and other topics scheduled are discipline, radio, art, books, school, play, character, comics, prejudice and home life. Guests of the program will include Uta Hagen, Milt Caniff, Fannie Hurst, and Ezra Stone, and such distinguished educators as Goodwin Watson, Harvey Zorbaugh, and Dr. Arthur Swift. Staff members of the Association participating will include Aline B. Auerbach, Anna W. M. Wolf, and Josette Frank.

This program can be heard in the metropolitan area reached by station WNEW but will, it is hoped, reach a wider audience through recordings. The broadcasts are being put on platters and may be made available to stations throughout the country as well as to parent-teacher associations and other groups interested in these topical problems. The programs have been planned for use in study-groups.

Children's Book Award

The 1946 award of the Children's Book Committee of the Child Study Association of America will be given to Howard Pease for his book, *Heart of Danger*, published by Doubleday & Company. This award is given for a book for young people "which presents with honesty and courage a realistic picture of today's world." Dr. Mary Fisher Langmuir, President of the Child Study Association, will present the award to the author at the Association's annual conference on March 10 at the Hotel Roosevelt, in New York City. Honorable mention will go to Ruth Sawyer for *Old Con and Patrick*, published by Viking Press, and Marguerite DeAngeli for *Bright April*, published by Doubleday.

The purpose of this honorary award is to focus attention on the need for books for young people which deal with contemporary problems in a forthright and realistic way. *Heart of Danger* is a gripping story of the last days of World War II. Its young hero, on a dangerous mission in France, is aided by Europe's underground fighters for freedom, the hundreds of "little people" whose heroism is never known. The book presents a courageous and unforgettable picture of the terror that goes with living under fascism, and effectively points up for young readers the cost and the need to cherish our dearly won freedom from fear. Mr. Pease is a long-time favorite writer of adventure stories for young people, and his book will be avidly read.

Family Relationships at Teachers College

Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, director of the Child Study Association of America, is conducting a graduate course on "The Psychology of Family Relationships" at Teachers College, Columbia University, during the Spring, 1947, quarter. The course is attended by students in the fields of nursing education, nursery school education, community organization, teaching,

Council Child Development Center

The Council Child Development Center was opened in February, 1947, at 227 East 59th Street, New York 22, N. Y. It is sponsored jointly by the New York Section of the National Council of Jewish Women, the Lt. Lester N. Hofheimer Estate and the Jewish Board of Guardians. The Center will function as a child guidance clinic to provide comprehensive diagnostic study and treatment of emotionally disturbed pre-school children. It will promote as part of its program research studies on the factors underlying sound personality development in children.

Children's Spring Book Festival

The Children's Spring Book Festival will be sponsored this spring for the eleventh year by the *New York Herald Tribune*. It will display all the books for children published during the past six months together with the original art work from many of them. It will open the afternoon of May 10, 1947, and then from May 12 to May 17, be open from 10 to 5 daily, on the eighth floor of the New York Herald Tribune Building, 230 West 41st Street, New York City.

Pamphlet on Sex Education "How Can We Teach About Sex?" by Benjamin C. Gruenberg, is now available in the Public Affairs Pamphlet series. It can be obtained from the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y., for ten cents.

Rheumatic Fever The Public Affairs Committee, Inc., has also issued "Rheumatic Fever—Childhood's Greatest Enemy," by Herbert Yahraes, a comprehensive and readable pamphlet on the disease that cripples and destroys more children of school age than any other disease, and that affects more than a million persons, young and old, in the United States. It can also be obtained from the Committee's headquarters for ten cents.

Children's Reading Service The Children's Reading Service at 106 Beekman Street, New York 7, N. Y., offers teachers, librarians, and parent study groups suggestions for selecting children's reading materials for school and home use. Arrangements can be made for school exhibits.

National Conference on Juvenile Delinquency Just off the press and available through the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., is a pamphlet on the *Recommendations for Action* growing out of the work of the panels of the National Conference on the Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency held in Washington, D. C., November 20, 21 and 22, 1946. Eight hundred persons from federal, state and local agencies and private welfare groups met in sixteen hard-working panels to work out action programs to be applied at the local community level for the understanding, prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency. This pamphlet contains summaries of each panel's report, the full reports to come later.

The areas covered by the Conference included: community coordination; institutional treatment of delinquent juveniles; juvenile court laws, administration, and detention facilities; role of the police in juvenile delinquency; recreation for youth; housing, community development, and juvenile delinquency; youth participation; citizen participation; mental-health and child-guidance clinics; case-work and group-work services; church responsibilities; school and teacher responsibilities; home responsibility; statistics; rural aspects; press, radio, and motion pictures.

A Continuing Committee of the National Conference was appointed before the conference adjourned to help carry out the recommendations of the panels. A lively note during the closing Conference session was the demand of youth to be represented on the Continuing Committee.

The panel on Home Responsibility on which both Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Director, and Mrs. Mary Fisher Langmuir, President of the Child Study Association served, called attention to the need of making parents more aware of what a good home can do to prevent antisocial behavior in children, and communities more alive to the need of strengthening family life in America. The ways in which this can be done are indicated.

Parents are urged to initiate community-wide institutes and conferences on how to live together in a family. There are many agencies and organizations in each community with specialists on their staffs who can help parents in this venture. The institutes must and can be planned to attract not only the privileged parent but all parents. Nursery schools and play groups, organized by community agencies or by the parents themselves can develop from such family-life conferences.

The Home Responsibility panel urges parents to endorse programs of family life education in schools where they already exist, and to sponsor them elsewhere. Programs of family recreation which allow the whole family to play together need also to be developed by parents in cooperation with community organizations.

Every community should provide a center for family counseling. Leaders in this field will need to be developed and it is hoped that some of the leadership may come from "lay people," from parents talented in the job to be done.

Parents are urged to take increasing responsibility to meet their family problems and to work cooperatively with all others in the community to prevent their children and all children from "getting into trouble."

Community Planning for Children "Children in the Community" is a recently published report by the U. S. Children's Bureau of what one local community did to give children who were showing mild behavior disorders the treatment necessary to prevent more serious disturbances. The St. Paul, Minnesota Experiment, set up by the Social Service Division of the Children's Bureau in 1937, and described in detail

in this report by Sybil A. Stone, Elsa Castendyck, and Harold B. Hanson, M.D., emphasizes the role of the local community in preventing behavior difficulties in young children. The basic role parents play in giving children the confidence and security they need in growing up is not minimized. What is highlighted here is the need for community coordination of child welfare services so that children in the early stages of disturbance can easily be given help from the community agency best able to provide the treatment needed.

Since parents are being urged these days to take responsibility in initiating community programs which will help prevent juvenile delinquency, they may be interested in some of the problems of community organization which are stressed in this report. An inventory of agencies and organizations concerned with children will reveal in many communities an overlapping of services available. How are these services to be integrated? Another large problem in community organization, of which parents often working as volunteers need to be made aware, is how to make the best use of the skills and talents of both the professional and the interested lay person. The problem of leadership is also ever present. In a democratic society, how can one work out an integrated program which respects the contributions of each agency and each individual and yet functions efficiently; how much "streamlining" can democratic leadership attempt?

The group working together in St. Paul, during

the years 1937 to 1943, saw about 1,500 children. About half the children needed the sort of treatment which a skilled psychiatrist can give. The rest of the children were those not usually found in child guidance clinics, children who were showing only mild behavior disorders and for whom treatment was largely in terms of preventing greater disorder.

Spotting the mild behavior disorders of children—academic difficulties, conflict with authority, irregular attendance at school, to mention but these three as examples—was one of the most important phases of the program. The school's role in the early identification of a potential problem is an essential one. The teacher, seeing the child regularly day after day, in a more detached manner than is possible for the parent, and in relation to all the other children in the group, is particularly fitted to undertake the task of catching, in its early stages, behavior disorders which can become more serious.

Working together in the St. Paul project were the schools, the churches, case-work agencies, group work organizations, health agencies and the police. The project was the immediate responsibility of a staff consisting of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, two case workers, a group worker and a school social worker. Other communities will profit by the experience of the St. Paul group. "Children in the Community" (which can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for 35¢) will give parents interested in initiating community-wide services for all children practical details of how to develop such a project, case studies of what happened to some of the children treated, and, most important, a sense of how all this can be done in a democratic fashion calling upon all the skills and talents available in the community and using them in the best possible way.

Child Care in China To carry out its program of helping to build a modern child care program in China, China Aid Council of United Service to China, has sent four consultants to China within the past year and a half, Dr. W. Carson Ryan in 1945 and again in 1946, Mildred Price, Executive Director of the China Aid Council in 1946, and Dr. and Mrs. Ernest G. Osborne, who are there now. Dr. Ernest G. Osborne is Vice-President of the Child Study Association and Professor of Parent Education at Teachers College. Mrs. Osborne is a public health nurse.

Dr. and Mrs. Osborne are concentrating on the
(Continued on page 62)

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NEWS AND NOTES

(Continued from page 60)

colleges which are or may be in a position to train workers in the child care and development field. Dr. Osborne taught a class in parent education at Ginling College, Nanking. He conducted seminars for the faculty at Ginling and at Nanking University as well as for child welfare workers in the city on the teacher's responsibility for counseling and guidance. Both Dr. and Mrs. Osborne worked with the Director of the National Institute of Health, Dr. C. K. Chu, and his staff on the problem of teaching doctors and nurses the fundamental principles of child welfare work.

Dr. and Mrs. Osborne are now at Lingnan University in Canton for two months, carrying out a program similar to the one in Nanking. Before returning to the United States they will visit Peiping to work with Yenching University and other colleges in that vicinity.

Religious Book Week

The fifth annual religious book week sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews will be observed nationally from May 4 to 11. The Religious Book List, a 36-page pamphlet, listing books for adults and children in four sections—Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, and Goodwill—will be available in April; single copies can be secured without cost by writing to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

American Brotherhood Week

American Brotherhood Week was observed by many schools, colleges and civic organizations during the week of February 16-23, 1947. It was sponsored for the fifteenth year by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Write the Conference, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., for information on their year-round work.

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ADOLESCENT CHANGE

(Continued from page 45)

adolescent age is comparable to the confusion, let us say, of moving from one house to another when everything is out of place and nothing is in familiar perspective. However, in due time, every piece of furniture will find its proper place again, somewhat differently arranged but unmistakably familiar.

The rapidly changing mores of our times bring confusion to some adolescents as they seek to formulate their standards and values. The protracted semi-childhood status of the adolescent, ignoring drastically as it were the biological realities of the individual, is also responsible for many of the anxieties of this age group. Over such factors the parents can have little influence but these conditions are responsible for the many problems which adolescents present within the family.

If we look at adolescent development in the light of the foregoing discussion, certain guiding principles emerge. It seems best for both parents and adolescents to learn how to live together as early as possible—that is, at a time when the issues before them are still rather simple and of relatively little consequence. It only complicates matters if parents, blaming everything on adolescence, do nothing and wait until the storm has passed. As has been pointed out, the adolescent has to learn to cope with opposition and divergent opinions, and his family can help him here. The adolescent still needs his family; quite unexpectedly moments of closeness and companionship reappear. These moments usually do not indicate permanent change; the parent has to keep in mind that no one expression, pleasant or unpleasant, will be for many years the final word in the adolescent's growth. One has to postpone judgments such as "This is our Johnnie" or "That's what became of our Janie." Patience and tolerance are needed but these must not be confused with inactivity or indifference.

"Of course, if one could only talk things over with one's son or daughter," parents say, "everything would be easier!" The adolescent, too, finds he is unable to reach his parent with words. Often a parent's opinion is rejected not because it is considered wrong by the adolescent boy or girl but only because it is the parent who offers it. Here we have to remember that outsiders are often much better able than parents are to talk with a youngster about his troubles. High schools and colleges are becoming increasingly aware of the need for counselling services and many communities are providing opportunities of this kind. Such services might be sought

parent and child whenever submission, social dissatisfaction, moodiness or defiance become exaggerated and chronic. We must not leave everything to "time, the great healer," because in the adolescent years, young people can be actively helped or hindered in their growth to emotional maturity.

In living with adolescents we have constantly to remember that adolescence has its definite task to fulfill in the development of the individual; if this is not accomplished during the years of its biological designation, it will be made up later, if at all, only with great sacrifice and suffering. Adults who keep this in mind can maintain reason and understanding as guiding principles and create those favorable conditions in living with their adolescent children which make maturity seem desirable, attainable and real.

THE TEACHER CAN PREVENT

(Continued from page 42)

(and for all children who lose out) school is where a fellow needs a friend. These children need warmth and the human touch; these have a strange healing power. For them it can be the shot in the arm that will help them to come through. And this is something almost all teachers can give. Even under great handicaps each teacher can do a little to get more over to children, in ways that children can understand, through the basic liking for children which most teachers have. Teachers have their skills in methods and techniques; they know how a tester acts and a grader and what a disciplinarian does. The big need today is for more teachers to find out how a friend acts in the classroom.

The war babies need a second thing: safety valves—a chance for their feelings to come out gently, safely. Safety valves will keep the pressure down and save children from the big explosions later. Again, teachers can do it. They have the tools right at hand or they can get them or improvise: paints, clay, wood, music, blocks, dolls, water, dirt, sand, dramatizations, story telling. These can make up the teachers' regular daily work and the wise teacher can use them so the feelings come out. Through them children can knock down and pound where no real harm is done; they can be bossy and it can all be in play; they can get dirty and be clean again in no time; they can spank and hurt and punish but only the dolls are hit and no real person is harmed. Here, right in school, is the chance for children to have their feelings accepted and to let off steam. Sensitive teachers have used their program this way; more teachers must do it now.

Thirdly, our war babies ask for success. They have had enough of defeat. They want the chance to grow, to be more and more able, to do. Schools can give this to them. They can give each and every one of them a place in the sun, a real chance to shine. All it takes is a wider school program and a more generous concept of time. These children want to learn. But they are not all ready to begin their learning at the same place; they are not all ready to learn only with the tools of paper and pencil; they are not all ready to show their learnings in the same way; they will not all make strides at the same rate of speed. If more schools can see how much success and belonging and giving mean to these children, if they can relax their time-demands and open up all the avenues for learning, the children can be helped.*

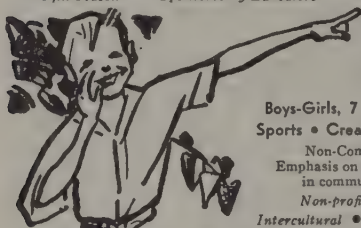
Teachers can do it but . . . it takes two things. First, teachers must get a new confidence in themselves and in all they have to give to children. Knowledge is not their only business, nor is the long-time scientific laboratory-like process of studying children and gradually understanding their behavior the only way they can help in adjustment. Right now, today through their programs and through themselves, teachers can meet children's emotional needs. If teachers can come to see themselves in this exciting light, our country will gain a tremendous resource.

It is never easy for people to see themselves in a new light. The in-school out-of-school obstacles may make this particularly hard for teachers to do now. A major impetus to the needed change can come from parents. Children confused cannot learn; children whose emotional needs are met, deeply want to learn, for the decks are cleared and they are free to forge ahead. Parents who know these things can give to teachers the backing and wholehearted support that will be the boost they need to see themselves and what they have to give to children in a new way. If teachers can know that parents also put emotional stability first on the list, they will feel freer to use all the resources they have to help children now. They will want to do, and feel good about doing, their important preventive job. This will help the war babies, but more important, it will give us practice in using the school to meet the emotional needs of all children.

* The Teachers Service Committee on Meeting the Emotional Needs of Children (17 East 96th Street, New York 28, N. Y.) has begun the publication of a series of simple pamphlets bringing together the various specific ways teachers have used to ease tensions and to aid children's adjustment. The first of these pamphlets, "A Pound of Prevention" is now available from the New York State Committee on Mental Hygiene, 105 East 22d St., New York, N. Y., for 25¢.

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PROBLEM PARENTS

(Continued from page 37)

lives touch the lives of parents. We can listen to them as they talk about the job they are faced with; we can be ready, not too quickly with advice, but with the kind of response which makes them know that we can feel as they feel. We can offer practical help, too, or help them to find it elsewhere. We who are older, can befriend their children, sit with their babies or even take them into our homes when we can to give young parents a vacation from the domestic chore. We can do what we can to replace the grandmas and the Aunt Marys, or the Mrs. Robinson next door, of former years. Only when mothers find their world neighborly again, can they give their best to their families. Only under these circumstances will they be able to face themselves and their shortcomings and see just how their own problems continuously play upon their children. This atmosphere of friendliness is the only foundation upon which parents, like the rest of us, can possibly carry on. Today the young couples who need just this assurance are not hundreds but thousands. Are the critics of family life today doing their share?

CHILD STUDY

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL
of PARENT EDUCATION

SPRING, 1947

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CHILD STUDY reentered as second class matter December 6, 1930, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1947, by Child Study Association of America, Inc. Published by the Child Study Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York 10, N. Y. Quarterly in Fall, Winter, Spring and Summer issues; published in December, March, May and September. 45 cents a copy, \$1.50 a year. Add 25c for all foreign subscriptions.

HEADLINES



The widespread interest in child study, not as a purely personal problem but as a vital force in modern society, was strikingly evidenced at the Annual Conference of the Child Study Association in March. The theme was "Recent Research in Child Development"—how children can be helped to grow into men and women capable of living together more harmoniously, and the emphasis was upon infancy as the critical period and upon new interpretations of the school age. Response from the public was overwhelming. The Conference, held at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York, drew a record crowd of fifteen hundred, while many hundreds had regretfully to be turned away. Every section of the United States, as well as parts of Canada, was represented and the attendance was composed of a gratifying cross-section of social-minded men and women. Workers from churches, schools, settlements and hospitals, from nursery schools, day nurseries and college home economics departments, from departments of public welfare and health, from mental hygiene and parent-teacher associations, as well as a great many parents, followed the Conference sessions.



In this current CHILD STUDY we present condensed reports from three of our conference speakers—Dr. Arnold Gesell, Dr. René A. Spitz and Dr. Margaret Mead—together with some of the questions and answers between audience and speakers. We hope to print Dr. Kris's paper later. Our next issue—the Summer-Fall number—will be based upon the theme of our Conference luncheon—"Pity the Poor Parent," and the discussions of the One-Day Institute for Professional Workers, "Parent Education Moves Ahead." The next issue will appear in mid-September.



A FEW GUIDING PRINCIPLES

ALL PARENTS, whether they want to or not, whether they are prepared to or not, practice the arts that rest on physical and medical sciences. They must also carry on the tasks that rest on our understanding of psychiatry. In their day-to-day dealings with their children, and whether they do it by chance or design, they are continuously modifying or molding emerging personalities, or altering the directions of their development. Yet they do these things within certain limits: the child's native constitution or inheritance also plays a part. In addition, the cultural setting of the customs and prejudices of the group in which a child grows up, all the traditions of a family and community will make their lasting impression, strongly influencing the process of growth and its outcome. Any scientific study of how personality develops must, therefore, constantly consider these various forces.

PERHAPS one of the few things it is safe to say about present-day researches into the enigma of human behavior is that emotional experiences are recognized to be far more important in character development than intellectual ones, which were for centuries the chief concern of educational effort; and the emotions are rapidly becoming the focus of scientific attention. It is *feeling*, apparently, far more than thinking, which determines how we act. It is the motives or moving forces in all of us, which we formerly disparaged—and feared—as the “passions” that act as our motors and not logic, as commonly stressed in an age of reason. Only through increasing our knowledge of the emotions and of how they are aroused and modified are we likely to make much progress in the solution of our distinctly human problems and in the enrichment of our lives. Here is probably the major task for the future, the expansion of the science for which Freud so brilliantly defined the problem and in which he and his fellow-workers made such great beginnings. Yet it is a field to which, in the end, all knowledge must contribute and on which all scientific truth must converge.

THE HANDFUL of brief studies offered in these pages represent only a very few contributions to this greatest of all queries; how does human personality grow to healthy fruition or, on the other hand, how is it frustrated and shriveled or distorted? They are based on careful observations of children themselves and represent initial steps in a vast undertaking. It is noteworthy that other such studies are under way.

DESPITE the practical difficulties and the obvious dangers of offering conclusions prematurely and before our knowledge has ripened, we nevertheless venture to suggest to bewildered parents a few guiding principles which seem

to be well established and also to be relevant for children growing up in homes in a democratic and industrial society approximately like ours of today. These are doubtless old truths but there may be comfort in the assurance that science has given them new validity and offers a wealth of detail to support them.

FIRST. As infants, children need, in addition to nurture and protection, the loving care and attention of their parents as the very source from which they draw the confidence, self-esteem and hardihood to meet the vicissitudes of living.

SECOND. Quite as surely they need parents who will gradually liberate them, as they grow older, from dependence and *over*-protection and who will open for them the opportunity to meet the trials and denials which will inevitably confront them. Only through direct experience with realities can children outgrow their infantile dependence on indulgence or attain the satisfactions and responsibilities that come from identifying themselves with their fellows.

THIRD. They need parents who have themselves acquired a sense of direction amid all the confusions and false hopes that abound in the world of today—parents who have convictions strong enough to keep them sure-footed and yet not so rigid as to crack under the strain of changing conditions.

FOURTH. Children need parents who take part in the common tasks of their communities, who share in the work and responsibilities as well as in the benefits and security of a democratic society. For it is only through parents so related to their fellows that children can attain a sense of belonging that works when they step beyond the shelter of their homes. And only through parents who take part in the life of their times and their neighbors can children learn to accept all their fellows without cringing and without condescension.

THESE ARE the things which seem to us now in 1947 to be the minimum essentials for sound human development. But no family can by itself assure all these to its children, since no family can today live by itself. We are all dependent upon one another, yet we continue to measure our success in terms of out-doing, out-bidding, out-running, out-shouting, out-smarting one another. Because of such unsocial and inconsistent aspirations and standards, we cannot begin to make available to the majority of homes the spiritual essentials for childhood revealed by our current science. And it is for the same reasons that we have not made available to the majority of children even the material conditions which we have long recognized to be essential for their very health and survival.

IT IS only when we make commonplace and assured the basic means and conditions which science shows to be essential for the well-being of all children, that we may dare to expect people to meet the problems that life presents and to deal generally with their inner conflicts without benefit of psychiatry. Inner conflicts there are always bound to be, but perhaps they need not destroy the human race so widely and so fatefully as they are doing today.

INNER SECURITY or insecurity is of course a personal achievement, just as it is always a particular person who is well or ill. But the particular state attained by any individual has its sources, as it has its meaning, only in the social or communal life within which the individual must live. We may hope to see the psychiatry which starts out with ailing personalities extend its researches to fuse with what science can tell us of mankind.

THE EDITORS.

Emotional Growth in the First Year

RENÉ A. SPITZ, M.D.

"EMOTIONS" is a catchword used very freely these days in psychiatry, child study and all fields concerned with the psyche of the adult or the child. Yet, although a large volume of literature is being written and an equally large amount of research conducted concerning emotional reactions, emotional needs, emotional deprivations, we know little about the way in which emotions develop in the life history of an individual.

Most of us assume that emotions are our ready-made birthright, inherited from our forbears and brought with us when we are born. That this is not the case, we have discovered only rather recently, though had we been able earlier to observe babies with genuine objectivity, we should have learned it long ago. The human being, however, with his curious habit of projecting his own feelings and attitudes into everything and everybody around him, has the greatest difficulty in achieving objectivity. A child who calls a table "bad" because he has bruised himself against it, an adult who impatiently kicks the chair on which he has barked his shins—both have fallen into the human error which psychiatry calls "projection."

This tendency to endow objects and beings with an emotional attitude which they do not actually possess has led to innumerable forms of psychological falsification. Animal psychology, in the literature of the past century, was a favorite field for projection, and animals in many books of that period act and talk like dignified Senators, immoral gangsters, Park Avenue dowagers or abandoned psychopaths. Actually, the psychology of animals is still largely a closed book to us. Animal thought processes are so different from the human that we cannot even begin to imagine them. Why then did such obviously incorrect ideas continue to prevail for so long? The answer is simple—animals cannot speak, therefore they can-

not contradict the motives or intentions which people attribute to them.

Most of us recognize our ignorance of the animal world but few realize that there also lives in our midst a large group of human beings who cannot speak and therefore can neither contradict us nor express their feelings in words. Nor can they express them later, when they learn to speak, for later they will not remember. I refer to human babies in the pre-verbal stage.

Viewing Babies Objectively

Much ignorance concerning infants has accumulated through the centuries, and much knowledge and intentional behavior attributed to them which they have never possessed. It is only very recently, in the past thirty years or so, that psychology and psychiatry have begun to investigate what babies really feel and think, if indeed they do think. It was when, instead of attributing our own feelings to the baby, we began looking at him objectively, as a newcomer from Mars might look at a strange human city, that we began to change our views on the psychology of infancy. Then we saw, what anyone who views a new-born baby with detachment will admit, that in the first days of life an infant's capacity for interchange with the world is very restricted indeed.

Many overimaginative mothers insist that their children recognize them on the third day or the seventh or the fourteenth, but close scientific observation shows that this is not the case. During his first days, only one emotion can be observed in a baby—and that is discontent. When something disagreeable happens to him, either from the outside or the inside, the child screams and yells and expresses himself by uncoordinated movements. No possible stimulation would produce in the new-born what we grown-ups call a pleasure-emotion. In the beginning there are just two opposites in the baby—dissatisfaction and quiescence. Disagreeable experiences produce discontent in the infant, otherwise he remains quiet and usually goes to sleep, so that during the first week he sleeps about twenty-two hours out of the twenty-four.

Dr. Spitz is a psychiatrist and a member of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute who has carried on important research into the years of infancy, where psychiatric theory centers its interest as the most critical and decisive period of the individual's life. Dr. Spitz's lecture, of which this article is a condensation, was accompanied by moving pictures of infants to illustrate his conclusions.

The psychological problem now arises: How then does this little mass of organized matter, capable only of the one emotion of discontent, eventually develop our enormous gamut of finely differentiated human emotions—love, affection, sympathy, interest; fear, anxiety, apprehension; rage, anger, hate, jealousy? That is the problem I set myself in the research which I started many years ago and of which I shall attempt here to explain some of the results, as they apply to the first year of life.

The Child's Earliest Behavior

We started with the discovery of the poverty of the child's emotions at birth, but we found that even in the following few weeks a differentiation begins to take place. Displeasure becomes slowly more specific, while from quiescence develops a new behavior—that of turning toward pleasurable stimulation. For, after about a week, when the mother takes up the baby to give him the breast, he will turn toward her. This is the first active sign the infant gives that anything pleasurable is happening.

Very soon after this, when the mother or any other person offers her face to the baby, he will stare at it unwaveringly, though in this same period he is still unable to fixate upon an inanimate object. One may show a baby at this stage any colored object, moving or still, noisy or silent, and he will look around in a disorganized manner but not directly at it. Show him a human face, however, and he will not only stare at it but follow it everywhere it moves. When ophthalmologists, attempting to establish the visual field in infants, tried to find an object that would provide a reliable stimulus for their purpose, none was comparable in effectiveness to the human face.

If one stops to consider this for a moment, the reason is not hard to find. Any pleasure which the baby can get at this age is proffered by a human being. "Pleasure," in this connection, is really too active a word. The reaction in the baby is rather a relief from discomfort, a sense of needs satisfied—food, drink, warmth, fondling, a bath in warm water, the removal of soiled diapers, loving attention if he feels pain or discomfort. All of these need-gratifications are tendered by the mother or by another human being replacing the mother, so on each occasion of pleasurable stimulation, the baby sees the human face at close quarters. Through this connection with everything satisfactory in the child's life, the human face becomes of supreme importance in influencing the early steps of the child's development. That is a statement which I believe our research justifies us in

making. Since we have discovered also that babies invariably choose the human face as the stimulus for their first smile, we may accept the smile as a sign that they are experiencing something in the nature of a pleasurable expectation.

By the beginning of the third month, babies will not only follow the movements of grown-ups even at a distance of from ten to twenty feet, but will respond to the sight of a face with a positive emotion, by smiling or babbling. Mothers may well insist that their babies smile much earlier, and this is true. Babies do smile very soon after birth—the earliest smile we have filmed was on the eighth day—but such smiling does not occur in response to a specific stimulus. The baby does not smile *at* anything; the occurrence is only an accidental movement of the facial muscles, as inconsequential as squirming, writhing, kicking or frowning. The adult cannot arouse this early smile by any kind of ministrations he may offer the child.

The smile which appears after the end of the second month, and exceptionally even earlier, is, however, quite a different affair. One circumstance will arouse it with absolute certainty—the baby's sight of the human face. There is a general fond belief among mothers that they are recognized by their babies at this stage, but that notion is incorrect. A baby will smile not only at his mother but at any face offered under similar circumstances: full-face and in movement. For when a mother handles a baby, ministering to him, she does so face on, smiling, nodding and speaking, since she is only human. So, if any stranger, smiling and nodding, approaches a child of from three to six months, the baby will also smile and babble and gurgle, for at this stage the human being in general represents his source of comfort and security. We have even discovered by experiments that from the third to the sixth month a baby will react in the same fashion to a Halloween mask, so long as the mask nods and moves. However, if the adult turns his face into profile, even though he continues the nodding and smiling, the baby will suddenly stop smiling and look bewildered. The full face or its substitute, associated as it is with the pleasurable gratification of his needs, is his familiar signal for the approach of a human being and at this age nothing else will do.

So, from the diffuse emotion which we had at birth, we have already by the third month progressed rather far in differentiation. The baby shows now not only a pleasurable, an interested turning toward the human, but also an expression of pleasure at beholding the

human being. Usually this pleasure is anticipatory; the baby smiles before the food is actually given. It is likely, however, that the very earliest manifestations take place during and after the feeding.

This discrimination of the human face is the earliest of all the child's perceptions. Developed by the baby's emotional relations to his mother, it is highly important because it breaks the trail for the rest of the child's development.

The negative emotions also become related to this recognition. By the end of the fourth month, a well-developed baby will show displeasure if you stop playing with him, thus depriving him of your person, although at this same period, he will not scream if you take his rattle away. It is only two months later, in the sixth month, that he will cry at having his playthings removed. Considering that at that age, two months is one-third of the child's total life-span, the recognition that he is losing his toys represents further development in discrimination.

The "Eight-Months' Anxiety"

But this is only a beginning. After the sixth month, the negative emotions begin to take the lead. The baby, who up to then has not distinguished between different human individuals, male or female, white or colored, mother or stranger, now manifests a new kind of behavior when a stranger appears. This varies from coyness to anxiety. Some children look bewildered by the strange face, others hide their faces behind a skirt or a blanket, some begin to cry or to scream. Anyone who knows his way around with babies can soon overcome this reaction. It means simply that the child has begun to discriminate between strangers and his mother or familiar friends. This "eight-months' anxiety," as we call it, is by no means undesirable. On the contrary, it represents an important, significant and necessary step forward in the development of the child's emotional equipment. Until the baby has learned to distinguish between friend and stranger, between his emotions toward one person as compared to another, he is obviously incapable of what we call love, affection, sympathy. The singling out of one person is the great development which takes place in the baby's eighth month.

One reason for the child's apparently slow social progress during the first six months is his helplessness, which keeps him a passive object ministered to by persons around him. This ministration is on the whole benevolent, but sometimes not what he needs. Fortunately, the child's receptiveness at this age is still of such a low grade that little harm can be done.

But after the sixth month, the infant ceases to submit passively. His bodily development now enables him not only to make better coordinated movements of withdrawal from unpleasant experiences but also movements of approach toward pleasant ones. Simultaneously his capacity for discrimination increases by leaps and bounds until he reaches the point of displaying anxiety toward strangers, destined to be an important part of his emotional development.

From here on the development becomes rapid. In the course of the next two months, the child will show a more possessive attitude toward his toys. He will probably select one in particular—a teddy-bear or even a pillow or a shawl—which may remain for years his favorite sleeping-companion. This, I believe, is the first sign of a possessive emotion.

The baby will develop also at this same period another set of negative emotions. The first traces of jealousy become visible in the ninth or tenth month. If, in a room where several babies of that age are lying in their cots, you single out one to play with, you will suddenly feel a small hand reach through the bars behind, tugging at your coat, because another ten-month-old baby feels neglected and is taking active steps to remedy matters. If you persist in ignoring that hand, its owner will begin to cry or scream in a manner indicating rage and jealousy. Clearly, such behavior is a direct development of the four-months'-old displeasure at being left by the adult, and the six-months'-old anger at having his toys removed.

Wider Range of Emotions

So, by the tenth or the twelfth month, quite a wide gamut of emotion has developed from the originally meager reactions. The child is now capable of showing not only displeasure, but anxiety, disappointment, anger and jealousy. On the positive side of the balance, he is able to show pleasure, love for one specific person, sympathy and friendliness toward other persons, enjoyment of his toys and a positive sense of property toward some special object. From this point on, the child's development will be rapid, complicated and extremely varied.

To this sequence of normal development there are, of course, exceptions, as there are exceptions to every rule. In emotionally deprived children, like the babies in so-called charitable institutions, who are in so many cases deprived of emotional interchange, the smile in the first trimester may be absent, or smiling at strangers may persist far into the third tri-

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Babies in Primitive Societies

MARGARET MEAD

WHEN an anthropologist discusses a psychoanalytical study of babies, like the report by Dr. Spitz, she has two tasks—finding points of agreement and finding points of disagreement. Such a discussion should point up the difference it makes to bring children up in one type of culture or in another; it should correlate research findings with our observations of the infant in primitive societies; and it should note, if possible, primitive insights which may be worth our imitating.

Babies in primitive societies, of course, are rather different from ours. For one thing, they wear little or no clothes and neither do their mothers. This obviously makes a great difference. Under such circumstances, much more is offered the baby than the human face. In our civilization, we over-depend upon the face and under-depend upon the body. Go into a Gypsy camp to have your fortune told, and while you fix your face into what you consider a desirable expression, the Gypsy will be watching your body. Then when she tells you exactly what you are thinking and feeling, you call her clairvoyant.

A South Sea island baby is offered its mother's whole body, not just her face, and it lies constantly against her skin, an experience which conditions its first responses. It does not have to wait until it is able to see her face before it can have any fun in life. I am in nowise contradicting Dr. Spitz's explanation of the general progress of discrimination in our own babies when I state that I have a film of a native baby who at twenty hours old showed rather positive pleasure as it turned toward the mother, and as its hands folded and unfolded while nursing. This state was much too active to be called quiescence.

We must remember, however, that this child was given a better and earlier human experience than our babies. In the first place, it was not born in a modern delivery room, from an anesthetized mother lying flat on her back. It did not therefore enter the world against the force of gravity but with it. In this case, it happened that the father had ordered the mother

to run get him some tobacco quickly—and she ran. Her baby was born in the bush, very quickly. It never had to be held up by the heels and slapped to start it breathing.

Nor was it isolated from its mother in a nursery with ten other babies, each having an entirely different life-rhythm from its own. It was nursed immediately after birth by a neighbor with another baby and thereafter was held against its mother's skin, in her lap or under her breast. All this gave it a far better and more immediate human experience in the first days of its life than we offer our children.

If, as Dr. Spitz pointed out, all learning follows behind this early emotional experience of inter-relationship between parent and child, then the more of such personal relations we give it, the better. And this should include smell and the sight and the feel of the mother's body, not just three inches of it opened up like a window in a jail, at nursing-time. The new-born child has just come from an experience within the mother, where its whole body had a skin-to-flesh relationship with hers. If we could keep this process continuous from the moment of birth, there would be no break in the valuable experience of human interaction. This, however, might prove rather awkward and difficult within the limitations of our own culture.

Growth Through Interaction

Dr. Spitz's research shows up sharply that in the development of a human being, not only love but interaction is important. I have seen babies in a tribe, who were hated by their mothers but who were gayer and more advanced than our much-loved children who are left alone in a cot to commune with the ceiling. For it is through this actual interaction with another human being that we grow. In the deep concern of our own civilization with hygiene we bring up people so protected from the human touch that they are really unfit to love anybody. Take, for instance, the masks worn by nurses in our baby hospitals. Native mothers sit, naked and cross-legged on the ground, holding the naked baby against their whole body, while the child's toes fold and unfold with pleasure. In an American hospital nursery, a nurse wearing an enormous mask

Dr. Margaret Mead is an anthropologist who has lived for long periods among South Seas peoples. Her books, of which the first was *Coming of Age in Samoa*, as well as her many lectures, have made her findings known to a wide American public. Dr. Mead is Associate Curator of Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

over her face leans over the baby, giving it the bottle. That mask is a symbol of the barrier we put between ourselves and our children, depriving them of human interaction and the growth they need.

Another important difference between these native children and our babies is in activity and weight. After I leave a primitive settlement and board a boat where I see European babies again, they look to me as big as whales—so large and pale and fat. And they lie for hours, looking at the ceiling and waving their arms, at an age when a native baby would be climbing all over you. For these primitive children have been picked up and held by human beings every minute, from the beginning, interacting to their mother's and other adults' movements. Being less well nourished than our babies—who are often so overfed they can hardly move—they are much lighter in weight, and so can be more easily carried about by their mothers. A good deal of the time they are held in an upright position. We have a foolish notion that a baby's neck is so weak that the child should be kept in a horizontal position, but actually, there is nothing in the whole of animal history to suggest that the human infant likes to lie flat, looking at the ceiling. This is the life we offer our babies much of the time, while the native mother carries her child under her breast in a sling or on her arm, or else astride her hip, and under all circumstances, with its head up. Among one Sepik River people, the mother, if she wants to give it a little more independence by holding it less closely, sets it on her arm, with her first finger under its chin and her thumb under its forearm, and thus a baby moves around the village with its mother.

I agree with Dr. Spitz that the development of possessiveness comes from a very close relationship to one person, but I think that perhaps this relationship curtails a broader human adjustment. In some of the primitive societies I know, babies are cared for by several people, who all love them and understand them and hold them in their arms. They all understand each particular baby's rhythm—when it is sleepy, when it is hungry, what its different expressions mean. Children so raised develop into warmer people, more capable of love in general, though perhaps less apt to form the kind of passionate attachment which would lead them to throw vitriol on anyone who interfered with their love affair.

In our society, too, it would seem advisable to raise children able to make a great many human adjustments. We do not live in a fantasy world where at

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AUDIENCE QUESTIONS

Answered at the Conference by
Dr. Spitz and Dr. Mead

QUESTION

How can you carry out the self-demand feeding if your child starts its first ten or fourteen days in a hospital which interferes with the plan?

ANSWER BY DR. SPITZ

At the present moment, hospitals by and large are interfering with self-demand feeding. But a growing body of medical men have now started to badger hospitals to such a point that they will at least permit mothers to enjoy their babies right from the beginning instead of giving them numbers and sticking them into a closed room. If a baby has already been disturbed by the hospital's four-hour schedule, you must simply have patience after you get it home. Slowly, it will find its own rhythm again.

QUESTION

Is it possible to expose a baby to too much interaction or too many stimuli?

ANSWER BY DR. MEAD

One reason for the fear you express is that we now have methods of keeping alive very weak babies. In primitive societies, if very long labor has exhausted the child, or if a baby is weak and does not nurse well, it is likely to die. The result is that the babies who do live are stronger than the kind we worry about. In primitive societies, there are probably no allergic babies. If they get skin diseases they die, whereas in our civilization we manage to keep alive children with extra-sensitive skins. An over-sensitive baby cannot stand as much stimulation as other babies, but it would be better quiet in its mother's arms than in a crib.

ANSWER BY DR. SPITZ

The question of over-stimulation is not quite as serious during the first year as later on. But the kind of mother who is constantly poking her baby for lack of something better to do is giving it a most undesirable form of stimulation. Some mothers are so unsatisfied by what they are that they have to justify themselves by what their baby is. One mother I know absolutely insisted upon getting her baby to stand and walk when it was six weeks old. She succeeded, but by the time it was six months it had exaggerated bow legs, and the psychic effect of this over-stimulation was even more harmful and more lasting. Another type of mother had to keep stroking her baby all the time, and smearing it with ointments. It may have been the ointments which caused the baby to develop a skin ailment or it may have been the constant prodding. These are the exceptions. The normal woman, with plenty to occupy her times besides her baby, need not worry about over-stimulating a normal child.

QUESTION

How can you allow a baby to develop its self-demand schedule and still meet the demands of the rest of the family?

ANSWER BY DR. MEAD

Adding a baby and his rhythm to a family with several other children in it is not so difficult if you have been paying any attention to the other rhythms in the family. A new baby is after all the most important member of the family and his demands should be met. But in a household where the needs of the family to rest and play have already been studied, you can fit a baby in without too much trouble. If, however, you have been running a home on strict schedules, with breakfast always on the table at 7:30 and the household wrecked for twenty-four hours if father sleeps late on Saturday morning, a baby may be catastrophic. But adding one more rhythmic note to a flexible rhythmic situation is, although a lot of work, quite possible.

New Interpretations of the School-Age Child

ARNOLD GESELL, M.D.

THE conclusion to be drawn from the recent studies made by the Yale Clinic of Child Development might be summed up in one phrase—the child from five to ten *grows* psychologically as well as physically.

Growth is taken so much for granted that this statement may seem a sheer truism. But from the scientist's point of view, at least, truisms are often worth examination. The more common attitude toward the question of growth was illustrated for me on a trip to the Middle West, when, in a venture-some mood, I stepped up to a book and magazine stand and asked: "Do you carry any book that tells how babies grow?" The man behind the counter looked at me in amazement. "Hey, Bill," he called to his partner. "Here's a gent wants to know what makes a baby grow. Why, you feed him, of course!"

This incident well expresses our usual lack of reflection on the significance of growth. The word itself is empty unless one thinks of growth as a process just as real, biologically and psychologically, as metabolism, digestion or secretion. Although the sophisticated educator sometimes misses the implications of the growth process, children themselves seem to sense its meaning, because children have an impulse to grow up. When two children of different ages meet, the senior automatically assumes a senior relation toward the junior. When a three-year-old child says: "I don't do that any more," he is betraying a sense of growth very important in his psychology. It is also rather characteristic of the six-year-old to begin thinking just what growth and growing-up mean. One seven-year-old of my acquaintance even wrote and illustrated a small paper volume which he entitled *Handbook: A Child from Two to Five*. By T. J. The study begins: "A child of two, at least some, is a good eater but he is a poor sleeper," and ends: "At five they are very nice. He is a fairly good sleeper and a good eater. The End."

Dr. Gesell's name has for many years been one of the best known in the field of child study. The Clinic of Child Development in the School of Medicine at Yale University, of which he is Director, has studied thousands of children, and the findings are familiar to parents through Dr. Gesell's many books. The most recent is "The Child from Five to Ten" of which Dr. Gesell is co-author.

In our experience we have found that children know so much about this process of growing up that we should probably take them more into our confidence, even at early ages. I am not speaking psychoanalytically; I mean rather a homespun, conversational, intimate relationship which will make us better acquainted with the children themselves. We are sometimes so eager to interpret children that our interpretation outruns our actual acquaintance with their characteristics. And when these familiar facts are duly classified in an orderly way, they become useful knowledge.

We know as yet very little about the fundamental character of the developing child. Only assiduous study, not ideological speculation, will make this child more understandable to us and therefore more amenable to our culture. Indeed, our culture itself will tend to improve when we use more enlightened methods of child care and child management. Enlightened treatment of children depends upon sympathetic interpersonal relationships. And such relationships, in turn, depend upon a more penetrating knowledge of the nature of child development.

The Yale Clinic, therefore, has found it worthwhile to consult, in New Haven, certain experts called "mothers." Mothers possess a great deal of information about their children, drawn from the crucible of their natural lives, and this information, duly recorded, has increased our knowledge of child behavior. We have gathered hundreds and thousands of such detailed impressions about the child in his home, and after the data were assembled and classified, we found that we had covered some ten major fields of behavior and some forty-two special areas. In round figures, we had about three thousand behavior items in the form of maturity traits. All these traits, duly arranged as growth gradients, reflected the rich and complex pageant of child development for the years from five to ten.

We have classified this material not in terms of compiling statistics but in terms of the child's age. It is the developmental sequence, not the age norm, which is important. How can one begin to understand the complexity and structure of the child's

mind except by paying attention to those patterns of behavior which declare his mind? From our point of view, the mind is as tangible as tissue. It has design and direction, structure and morphology. The mind is like a tapestry or fabric, but a growing one. By thus regarding it as a patterned complex, the emotional life of the child begins to take on character.

What is this emotional character? There is in Nature, Emerson said, "an inevitable dualism, so that each thing is a half and suggests another thing to make it whole. . . ." The child, being part of Nature, is subject to these dualisms and they permeate our culture, for the culture itself has been created by us and by our dualisms! If the conflict, as Emerson hinted, is tempered and proportioned, it tends to achieve some kind of wholeness. If the process of growth proceeds constructively, the conflicts can be progressively resolved. By understanding the dualisms in our own culture we can attack the problem of the emotional life of the child.

Age Characteristics

To become more concrete, let us look at the growth of children between the ages of five and ten. These years are ordinarily lumped together but in our survey we have broken them down into several maturity-levels, demonstrating that each year has its distinctive characteristics. By "year," of course, we mean a zone, comparable to the temperate, frigid and torrid divisions of the world's geography. With this qualification in mind, we may state that FOUR is an expansive phase of development, branching off into many tangents, and characterized by a little roughness. FIVE is more self-contained, better integrated and organized. SIX again becomes dispersive, but rather sketchily so, and both he and we must reckon at almost every turn with those Emersonian dualisms. But at seven, the child tends to become pensive, thoughtful and assimilative, only to again grow expansive, at a higher level, when he reaches eight.

Such brief characterizations may sound like catchwords but they do correctly indicate that development does not take a straightforward course, but tends to spiral, with repetitions and regroupings, at ascending levels. The child, however, can never outgrow himself and it is through an intricate process of interweaving that he makes his connections with higher growth levels. The eight-year-old is still the four-year-old, but at a higher level, always subject to the one over-all dynamic of development.

What happens midstream at the eight-year-old level? We find that the child is now a bit adult,

conversing more readily with adults and actually beginning to look more like one. His facial expression has changed perceptibly. He is less brooding than at seven, more receptive to the responses of others, somewhat speedy as well as expansive. He becomes evaluative, not in the pensive way of seven, but with quicker judgments. Note how alertly he watches the adults, observing their demeanor, what they say and how they say it. This is one of his ways of growing up, his method for getting into our culture. The growing fabric of his growth is sending out strands into inter-personal relationships and these help to create the characteristics of his personality. Even his vision is now more mature, accommodating itself to near as well as to far distances. At eight, he fatigues less than at seven, his illnesses are lighter. He is more interested in rough and tumble play. His energy is such that he tends to bolt his food and sit on the corner of his chair. He shows a new perceptiveness of the opposite sex, both by withdrawal and by new forms of exploration.

Though less embroiled with his mother than six, EIGHT is very demanding of his mother's attention. He erects images not only of what she expects of him but of what he expects of her, and he finds discrepancies irritating. He is sensitive and tends to be easily hurt. He is tenacious in his claims—too much so, his mother may well think, but this too is a growth mechanism which merits her sympathy and understanding. By this tenacity he perfects his pattern of social behavior and deepens his thrust into the emotional life of adults.

The Child's Paradox

As the child grows, he has the double, paradoxical problem of shaping his own emotions but shaping them in relation to the emotions of others. His ethical sense undergoes refinement and he begins to understand more clearly something of the difference between right and wrong. He becomes sensitive to the point of tears if scolded too harshly. He is now much more insistent upon truthfulness, and even when he uses alibis, they tend to be a mixture of alibi and a sense of ethics. When he declares by way of excuse that "he would not have done that, if . . . etc." he is betraying an emerging consciousness of moral values. For his ethical sense is growing just as surely as his expertness in handling physical materials.

Expansiveness shows itself also in a new dramatic interest. He not only assumes roles but can evaluate them dramatically. A boy will turn a mail-order catalogue into a magic carpet. Girls at this age often

show a special interest in two-dimensional paper dolls, which they manipulate complexly to re-enact family situations. Both boys and girls now become more conscious of marital problems. They are less animistic, a little more scientific in their attitudes. Boys begin to understand the proposition that all men are mortal. Dramatic expansiveness expresses itself by hyperbole: "This is awful!" "Things are terrible!" "I love this." "I hate that." The child dramatizes himself as he stretches out for maturity.

What Educational Changes?

Our findings as to the growth of the child from five to ten, therefore, lead us to the conclusion that revolutionary changes are due in our elementary education. On what shall these changes be based?

Our culture has reached a stage of maturity when we need, as never before, a realistic science of child development, which will take into account not only our own behavior and that of our children but the needs of our culture as well. By understanding the child, we shall better understand at least the underlying processes which govern our society. For this reason, I believe that teacher training should turn away from traditional educational psychology, with its tedious emphasis on the learning process, and shift the focus to the growing process. Unless the child's growth characteristics are understood as a surgeon understands the anatomy and fabric of bodily tissue, the environment cannot be adjusted to the child's nature and needs. The core of characteristicness in the fabric of his behavior represents the child's individuality, and, whatever his growth, that individuality cannot be transcended.

A fundamental emphasis on the processes of individual development will help to break down the barrier which prevents understanding between parents and teachers. Teachers are often on the defensive, parents are too accusing, and curriculum requirements further confuse the situation. But all adults dealing with a child should be mutually concerned with his developmental welfare. Here is a common meeting ground for parent-teacher relationships. Parents and pediatricians have been somewhat in advance of teachers in the recognition of the developmental characteristics of infancy and childhood. Some years ago the American Board of Pediatrics organized a committee on growth and development. A doctor cannot be certified as a pediatric specialist until he has passed an examination in the field of growth and development. School authorities should give similar emphasis to the developmental approach to problems of

child hygiene and education. With increasing knowledge, and with a philosophy of child development, we can humanize our culture, improve our schools, and increase our happiness through our children.

AUDIENCE QUESTIONS TO DR. GESELL

QUESTION

Is Dr. Gesell's most recent film made for distribution to clubs and study groups and if so where can it be obtained?

ANSWER

The March of Time produced a documentary film in the Forum Edition, depicting the work of the Yale Clinic of Child Development. This film is now available on a rental or purchase basis to educators or club groups, and can be obtained from *The March of Time*, 369 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, New York. We have a new series of ten silent films, dealing with the first five years of life. These films are also available on a rental or purchase basis and can be obtained from Encyclopædia Britannica Films, Inc., 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Illinois.

QUESTION

What corrective measures would you recommend to correct thumb-sucking?

ANSWER

My general rule is not to give advice except in terms of the individual child and the individual home. This is a matter of management and strategy.

QUESTION

How much freedom should an eight-year-old child be allowed in his play? Should he be restricted to his own yard or allowed to play where he pleases?

ANSWER

There is considerable hazard in allowing the eight-year-old complete freedom in play because of a certain lack of caution at this age. Accidents tend to reach a peak in this period. Because of his very expansiveness, the eight-year-old needs watching and direction. But you can and should give him plenty of opportunity to use his energies.

DR. KRIS'S COMMENT

When I read in Dr. Gesell's book about the high frequency of corporal dangers in the activity of the eight-year-old, I was reminded of a remark I used to make jokingly to my students—that the legs of the eight- or nine-year-old are an index of his auto-punitive behavior. Many accidents occur with children who are extremely alert and possess maximum bodily control. I have a feeling that they are living out impulses which they would like to control. A slight accident may relieve great inner tension, bring it out into the open, mixing the growth of self-satisfaction with a little shock.

Editor's Note—Dr. Ernst Kris addressed the Conference on "Psychoanalytic Insights into the Child's Middle Years" and took part in the audience discussion.

Parents' Questions and Discussion

At what age should I send my child to nursery school? If I send him during the so-called "turbulent period," will nursery school increase his turbulence?

It should neither increase it nor squelch it. Turbulence is considered a part of the curriculum of nursery school. Sometimes this turbulence is called a need for physical activity, so schools provide large blocks, barrels, climbing apparatus, wheelbarrows and bicycles and—space. Imaginary earthquakes and air raids sometimes destroy whole cities constructed of blocks, to the hilarious glee of four- and five-year-olds. No damage is done; quite the contrary, for aggression is also among the needs of young children. Besides, the cities can be built up again so that the child gradually learns that he can get as much fun from building up as from tearing down. Floors are covered with washable linoleum for the mud and paint that is spilled both accidentally and purposely. Note that aggression, destruction and mess are not taught in the nursery school but they are expected and provided for, just as imagination, creativity, the desire for success and the joy of positive accomplishment are provided for. With opportunity for both, it has been found that slowly, very slowly, there is less and less of the one and more and more of the other.

Hand in hand with the physical activity goes an emotional turbulence which is also important. The three-year-old is getting a new perspective on his family. What is his relationship to Mommy, to Daddy, to his sisters and brothers? What is Daddy's and Mommy's relationship to each other and to the other children? This is a big problem in the child's life and in trying to resolve it, he has to experience many inevitable disappointments and frustrations. Going off to school does not mean that he no longer has his home problems but it gives him a respite, so that he is less likely to become fixed on it. He has disappointments and frustrations at school too, but the difference is that at school his teacher isn't his Mommy and all the other children have disappointments, too, which he sees them face and live through, realizing his chance for success is as good as theirs.

Nursery school can never be a substitute for the home but for many three-year-olds it can be a valuable supplement.

I find my four-year-old getting more and more resistant to everything. Sometimes I make him do things, but sometimes I just let him have his own way. My husband says I'm making a mistake in being so wishy-washy. But it seems to me that I'd simply wear myself out being firm all the time. Is it worth it?

Whether you are wishy-washy or firm is less important than that you should be consistent. Your child needs to know just what you expect of him and what he can count on from you. Children feel insecure when their parents' discipline depends on which way the wind blows. To begin with, of course, it's wise to keep your demands as few as possible and to temper them and time them so that the child will feel less need to rebel. Nevertheless, there are always certain musts, and children usually find life easier and more secure if they know which things these are and learn that they must accept them. It's silly, and, as you say, not worth the struggle, to make everything an issue or insist on obedience just because you have to take a firm stand. It's equally silly not to be ready to change your mind, to make exceptions when these seem called for, or to drop some demand which seems to arouse resistance. But at the same time both of you will be less troubled if your child knows with some definiteness that you mean what you say at all times—that you are consistent in your discipline.

My two boys, four and six, often get into scraps that sometimes end in some bitter fist fights. The younger one is strong and can protect himself to some extent, but the older one is big for his age and gets so excited when the battles begin that I'm afraid he'll really harm the little one. And yet I don't want to interfere between them. What ought I do?

It is not easy to know how far to let children of different ages work out their differences without interference, and there is no positive rule or magic formula to go by. Some arguments and even some fighting are to be expected among children, and where they are working it out fairly evenly, adults do not have to step in. When the physical fights get as violent as you describe, however, it seems to be a different matter. They should be stopped for two

reasons: first, to save the little one from harm and from the feeling of being constantly overwhelmed by a force that is too much for him; and second, to save the older one from the violence of his own aggressive impulses, and keep him from actively doing something he will regret. Children really don't want to hurt their sisters and brothers and are devastated if they find they have done so. They need to feel that in times of emotional stress and rage they can count on the grown-ups around them—and particularly their parents—to stand on the side of their consciences and help them to control the feelings which may otherwise be too much for them.

If parents are not frightened themselves by these situations, they can meet them with understanding and with firmness, too, and both children will probably be relieved to have the brawls stopped. At the same time, one must try to see that each child feels that the parents have been fair and have not favored one as against the other. And perhaps some suggestions that will turn the boys toward things they can enjoy doing together will help to ease the tension. It may be wise to plan to separate the boys at times, too, encouraging each one to play at his own level with boys of his own age.

I am puzzled by what seems to me contradictory advice given to parents about children's need for mothering. On the one hand we hear that babies need lots of love and cuddling and on the other that this dreadful thing called "Momism" is ruining the younger generation and is responsible, in fact, for many of the neuropsychiatric disabilities discovered during the war. Can you straighten me out on this point?

The child's age is all-important. It is true that babies under a year, and perhaps especially under six months, need a great deal of the love and cuddling you mention. Very early in life they respond to the mother's face, to her smiles and nods and to the physical comfort she brings. Their later capacity for independence and self-reliance will be greater, not less, for having had these things in plentiful doses during the early months.


But everything depends, too, on the mother's willingness to support her child's growth toward self-reliance and separateness step by step as he shows readiness. Around six months of age babies begin to use their hands and pull themselves about. They become interested in objects in their surroundings other than people; they are able to tolerate being left to themselves a bit now and then.

By a year old a child still needs plenty of love and cuddling, as he will for several years to come, but he needs less of the intense bodily closeness of the early months. He is beginning to find himself as a separate individual with a will of his own. As time goes on, he needs widening experience with people and things; encouragement in skills which will further his independence. He should discover, too, that his actions and desires have limits, that he cannot be in sole possession of his mother; he may no longer share her bed or room at night, for example, and must learn to accept the hard truth that she loves his father and his other brothers and sisters as they come along. Of such stuff are the frustrations of early childhood woven. As the normal mother is able to impose them, so, too, is the normal child able to accept them, always provided that the background is one of steadfast love.

During the early school years, children crave their parents' interest in the things they enjoy and become rather impatient of "cuddling." They want parents who are interested in what interests them but their frame of reference in many respects has become other children—"the gang." Still later in adolescence they need plenty of chances to make excursions out of their homes altogether now and then; they need to experiment "on their own," to learn from experience.

Perhaps most of all they need a chance to do adult work in a community prepared to accept them. But all these steps impose responsibilities and the mother-educator must make these conditions clear.

This question of how much mother, therefore, is largely one of the child's age and stage of development. The mental health and maturity of the mother herself are the best guarantee that she will be able both to give herself to her children when they need her and to withdraw when the time is ripe.



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Suggestions for Study Groups

This outline is based on the articles in this issue on the general theme "As a Child Grows," and is offered as a guide to readers who wish to use CHILD STUDY as source material for group study and discussion.

EMOTIONAL GROWTH IN THE FIRST YEAR

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION:

Infants are not born with a set of emotions ready-made, but develop them through experiences of the first years. At birth the only emotion babies express actively is discomfort. Expressions of satisfaction, pleasure and later of disappointment, love, jealousy, and so forth, develop as the infant associates gratification of his needs with the sight of the human face, and as he identifies his mother's face from among those of others. Without this human interaction normal emotional development does not occur. Especially important is the period after the infant reaches six months of age, when he becomes capable of taking a more active part in this process of interaction. Grown-ups often complicate their relations with babies by reading into infants' behavior adult feelings and responses of which the babies are not capable.

TO DISCUSS:

How do you reconcile Dr. Spitz's description of the development of emotions with the observation that in early infancy the human face is associated with many disagreeable as well as with satisfying experiences?

What practical application of Dr. Spitz's theory can be made in the home for the care of infants?

In terms of Dr. Spitz's theory would six months of age be the time to start toilet training, or to begin insisting that the baby "cry it out?"

Discuss the kind of provisions that should be made in institutions caring for young babies if their normal emotional development is to be assured.

What part can the father's face play in the baby's life, according to Dr. Spitz's theory?

BABIES IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION:

Dr. Spitz stresses the importance of the human face as a focus for the development of recognition, of love, disappointment and other emotions. Dr. Mead believes we can go further. Babies in certain primitive societies show more rapid development than our infants. Close comforting contact of the babies' bare bodies with that of the mother, and the rich source of stimulation in tribal life may explain this precocity as well as a later tendency to become especially warm-hearted and affectionate adults. By offering our infants the right kind of attention and stimulation we satisfy and encourage each in accordance with his capacity to respond. This is different from the kind of attention expressed by idle prodding of babies or by fussing over them because of one's own insecurity. It is easier to accommodate a new baby, with his special needs in a family in which each member's rights are being respected, than in a household which is being run on a rigid schedule.

TO DISCUSS:

Do you infer from Dr. Mead's discussion that mothers should sleep with their new babies? Why not?

What light on the possibilities of the grandparents' rôle in family life does Dr. Mead suggest?

How can we give our children some of the advantages of tribal life without going completely native?

Discuss Dr. Mead's point that it is easier to fit the new baby's special rhythms into a family which is already taking account of its member's rhythms than in a family which "runs on schedule."

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SCHOOL-AGE CHILD

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION:

Children grow psychologically as well as physically. Their minds, understanding and attitudes grow up as well as do their bodies. In everyday living with our children, and in teaching them and in planning for their education, we have to remember what is the "age" of the mind and of the personality with which we are dealing. We can't expect to push a six-year-old ahead to ten-year-old understanding, or expect a twelve-year-old to do his best if we use seven-year-old psychology in dealing with him. Careful study of our children will help us to recognize ways in which we can use this force of growth as an ally instead of an enemy. By noting the kinds of things for which children of a given age are ready, we can help our own child to accomplish his best; in some cases we need to wait tolerantly for our child to outgrow some irritating or inconvenient ways which are characteristic of his developmental age rather than of his personality. He never "outgrows himself," however; from year to year, even in his increased maturity, he still reveals qualities we can recognize from an earlier stage.

TO DISCUSS:

Dr. Gesell consults "certain experts called 'Mothers.'" What sort of information and understanding should they be asked for? In what areas is their testimony less likely to be reliable?

In any group of eight-year-olds, what normal variations from the "Eight" pattern, described by Dr. Gesell, might you expect to find?

Will all problems with children's behavior be outgrown if due recognition is taken of their developmental capacities, or does individuality also play its part?

Under what circumstances could difficulties with the following situations be ascribed largely to characteristics of development and under what circumstances would such an interpretation be inadequate: establishing bladder control, learning to read, being polite to visitors, stealing?

Can you illustrate from your own experience this statement "The child . . . can never outgrow himself."

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Science Contributes

ACTIVITY AND AGGRESSION IN CHILDREN*

EDITH BUXBAUM

AT the 1943 Annual Meeting in a discussion on "The Treatment of Aggression," Dr. Lowrey clarified the meaning of the term "aggression" by pointing out that two interpretations are accepted: one by which we understand aggression as an act of unprovoked hostility and destructiveness; the other, in common use, is taken to mean "self-assertiveness." Common language, which is at times the expression of common sense, agrees in this instance with Freud who, in his early concept of instincts, discriminated between ego instincts or instincts for self-preservation, and sex instincts.¹ In this concept, aggression is one of the manifestations of the instinct of self-preservation, meaning that as long as we live we are aggressive. Destructiveness and hostility in this concept appear only as one form of aggression.

The theories on the origin of aggression vary. Their main point of contention is whether aggression in the destructive sense is a reaction to experiences, or whether it is a constitutional, original drive.² However, all schools and theories agree that even hostile and destructive aggression can be converted to useful and constructive ends; it can be redirected. For practical purposes, the question whether aggression was originally destructive or not seems unimportant; we must work with the fact that aggression is an instinct which can be used either for constructive or destructive ends. Our interest is in finding out the conditions which are favorable in bringing out one or the other side.

The activities of infants are usually accepted with approval. The baby is permitted to suck his fingers, make noise, spit and make bubbles with his mouth; he may wet and soil, kick and pull as much as he likes. He is praised for holding on to fingers, breast or bottle, or any object he can get hold of, and he may handle it any way he likes. He may sit, stand, crawl, or walk. Whatever he does is appreciated as progress in his development. This period is truly

the child's paradise, where nothing is forbidden. As he grows older and stronger, more skillful and able to move about on his own, he meets with the disapproval of his surroundings. When this will happen differs greatly, depending on individual and cultural factors, but happen it must. The amount of anger expressed by the adult's words, actions, or facial expressions makes the child aware that his action is naughty. It will depend on a number of factors whether the child will comply with the adult's wishes by dropping the behavior altogether, or only the naughty part of it, or continue in the old way.

Freud has pointed out that each instinct has its own power of becoming aggression. Every phase of libidinal development has its own form of aggressiveness. The child's activities which are expressions of his libidinal drives can be turned into aggressive ones: he learns to bite, hold tight, pull, tear, rip, kick, run, spit—all of which he needs to be able to do in order to achieve his purposes, one of which is aggression. We can discriminate between three different stages in the development of the child's activities: first, the experimental stage in which he discovers a new activity and tries it out; second, is one of practicing, during which the child learns through innumerable repetitions; and third, the activity is at his disposal, he can call upon it when he needs it.

During the process of learning, until the child has achieved control over his vital activities and his body, his relationship to people is of greatest importance. The younger the child, the more tolerant are the parents. The older he becomes, the more is he subjected to demands and restrictions which will influence his relationship to people as well as to his own activities. Inadvertent destruction, interpreted and reacted toward as deliberate aggression, may turn the particular activity into an aggressive one to the point where it loses its original meaning and from then on is stigmatized as aggressive action only. The relationship to people; *i.e.*, the care-taking person, will influence the ability of the child to express and control aggression and also his development of activities. It is of great importance at what stage in the develop-

* Reprinted from the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. XVII, No. 1, January, 1947, from a paper presented at the 1946 Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association.

ment of a certain activity the interference from outside sets in.

David Levy³ and Phyllis Greenacre⁴ have made some observations on the reactions of animals and infants to movement restraint. Levy finds that "modifications of activities *before* they have been fulfilled, may be easily achieved." Greenacre states that, "simple hampering of motion" does not bring about any aggressive, rage-like behavior in the young infant. It seems to her that during the first year of life, the child reacts with rage only when the "angry attitude" of the restrainer is added to the imposed restraint. She also calls attention to the custom of swaddling, which is common to certain peoples, without having the general effect of marked aggressiveness in those infants. Both observers agree that friendly restraint of motion at an early age, when the child is in what I have referred to as "the experimental stage," does not provoke aggression. It would seem, however, that there is to be expected early and deep repression, as Greenacre shows in one of her adult cases.

Interference in the "practicing" stage seems to have a definitely different effect on children. Levy observes that hyperactivity, both in animals and humans, is a reaction to early movement restraint. He says "After a child has experienced creeping or walking, a restriction of these activities will be felt as restraint." This statement is in agreement with Lauretta Bender⁵ who attributes the aggressiveness in children, admitted to Bellevue at the age of 11 to 18 months, to severe physical restrictions to which they have been subjected, in addition to being deserted or neglected by their mothers. As soon as these motherless children are consistently handled by *one* person—a mother substitute—and find opportunity to form a relationship with that person, they respond by developing new habits and playful activities. With this progress, their extreme aggressiveness diminishes, thus clearly proving it to have been a reaction to both physical restriction and lack of relationship.

The observations which have been made by Levy, Greenacre, and Bender are particularly concerned with the restraint of motility. Levy points out that restraining the motion which the child has the need to develop, provokes his aggressiveness; Greenacre and Bender see it as a combination of restraint with a lack of a positive relationship. However, it would seem that restraint *per se* at this point in humans would hardly occur without a hostile or neglectful attitude on the side of the care-taking person. It would

seem that the child who is deprived in using his muscles in a constructive way, uses them instead in a destructive way. When he is given a chance to use them in accordance with his stage of development, he can display his aggressiveness in activity.

The ideas presented in the following pages are more or less theoretical conclusions, drawn from the analyses of older children. It would be desirable to follow them up with direct observations which, however, are rarely at the disposal of the analyst.

It seems significant that another reason for uncontrolled aggressiveness in children occurs as a result of failure in habit training. Habit training is, similarly, restraint in motility, an outside interference with the muscular apparatus. The adult who confines the child to his crib or prevents him from crawling, walking, sucking, masturbating, prevents him from using his muscles in accordance with his needs. In habit training, the adult demands that the child use his muscular control according to rules imposed from the outside. The aggressiveness of some of these children appears in temper tantrums; they are disorganized and unable to concentrate on any activity. A brief example will illustrate.

The case is that of a boy of ten and, because it is rather complex, I shall discuss only some of the aspects pertaining to this topic. This boy felt unloved, inferior and guilty, all of which kept him in a constant state of self-assertiveness and self-defense, expressed in the form of aggression. His symptoms contained diverse, contradictory meanings, part of which he expressed in hostility and aggression against his mother.

His temper tantrums alternated with his enuresis. He was dry at night if he had had a temper tantrum in the evening before going to bed. The connection between aggression and enuresis became even more obvious when he started to wet the blanket, pushed it to the foot of the bed, and slept on the dry sheet. As a next step, he got out of bed and urinated on the rug. He admitted enjoying the idea of his mother cleaning up the mess. He knew she would do this, although she generally neglected him, because she felt embarrassed to have others know about her child's fault which she, and rightly so, attributed to herself.

When the aggression expressed in the bed-wetting became conscious to the boy, he gave it up and found other means to control his mother. Whereas he had forced her to care for him as if he were a baby by wetting the bed, he now forced her to help him with his school work. When he was a baby, the mother

left him frequently at night, to which he reacted by wetting the bed; now he succeeded in keeping his mother at home evenings by waiting with his school work until she came home if she did go out. For him this had the significance of controlling his mother and, at the same time, of controlling himself. Simultaneously, he also learned to control his bladder. The temper tantrums were an open attack against mother both consciously and unconsciously. To some extent it was an anticipation of the mother's attack against him should he wet the bed. He punished her in the same way in which he expected to be punished. Having punished her that way, and by playing the mother's role himself, he was able to forego wetting the bed. For a long time it was the only way in which he could control both his mother and himself.

Children of this kind, whose symptoms are derived from a failure in habit training, differ from those previously mentioned. The frustration is not as terrifying; they are not as badly threatened as the children described by Bender. They were not completely thwarted in achieving control of their muscular apparatus, nor as severely lacking in human relationship. The restraint imposed upon them was introduced at a later period in their life and concentrated on one particular field, that of sphincter control. They resented this particular interference and protested against it with temper tantrums. Later, the temper tantrums became divorced from the immediate source and occurred whenever somebody or something interfered with their wishes. The relationship with the mother became disturbed at this point. All the mothers of the children treated by me for wetting or soiling were compulsive mothers, who reacted violently against their children's difficulty. They reacted against the baby's dirtiness before the question of habit training ever came up. Undoubtedly, they had a share in the symptom of enuresis as well as in the development of aggression.

The inability to control his body is continued in the child's inability to control himself in general. As soon as some of his aggression is turned into the mastery of his sphincters or of an outside object, as soon as he achieves one thing, he also makes progress in others; aggressiveness turns from destructiveness to constructiveness.

Another case deals with a disturbance in speech. A mother of a two-year-old boy consulted me because her child started to stammer. It turned out that the little boy had picked up one of the forbidden

four-letter words, and had used it constantly. The mother forbade the use of the word; he could not understand why, since he never before had been forbidden using words. He reacted by continuing to use the word teasingly. A battle ensued, and the mother finally punished him. He gave up using the word—but started stammering. The mother was advised to tell the child he might use the forbidden word and that she would not punish him. He took her at her word, played with the suggestion provocatively for a while, then lost interest in the word. The stammering disappeared.

The punishing attitude of the mother connected with talking had disturbed his speech altogether. It was necessary to reverse the whole process which had led to the disturbance in order to restore his ability to speak. The child was unable to understand that just *one* certain word was forbidden; for him, it meant that the activity of talking was dangerous and prohibited. Fearing to lose his mother's love, and fearing to do wrong, he was willing to give up talking which he was in the process of learning. It was the *timing* of the prohibition which had this undesired effect. Had language already become established as a means of expression, the prohibition would not have resulted in a stammer. This child developed a symptom in which his love for his mother and his aggression against her were combined. There was no other indication of aggression and hostility.

The outcome of speech disturbance in the practicing stage is obviously different from others. While the children who were disturbed in using their muscular apparatus reacted with hostility and destructiveness, this child developed a symptom confined to the oral sphere. This kind of speech disturbance has a parallel in certain eating difficulties. Children who are beginning to learn to feed themselves are sometimes disturbed in eating altogether when they are forbidden to use their hands or the spoon as they would like to do. The eating disturbance may remain an isolated symptom. In contrast to children restrained in motility who become aggressive, these children tend toward developing inhibitions.

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Book Reviews

The Personality of the Preschool Child—The Child's Search for His Self. By Werner Wolff. Grune and Stratton, New York, 1946. 341 pages. \$5.00

From the days of G. Stanley Hall's early studies of children's ideas to about 1916—the date of the Stanford revision of the Binet test—child psychologists relied largely on diaries, incidental observations and records of children's observations for their deductions. During the next thirty years in the United States, attention was largely centered upon objective studies of physical and mental growth, conditioning, social behavior and language. However, the advent of Hitler, which meant death to many kinds of science in Germany and Austria, brought a new stream of ideas and methods into the United States. To the Gestalt and psychoanalytic-minded psychologists who came here during the 30's and early 40's, we owe the rapid development of the Rorschach method and indirectly the projective methods and depth studies of personality which have been useful not only in the study of adults but even more in the understanding of children.

Dr. Wolff's book, "The Personality of the Preschool Child," is a major contribution in this field. Like Heinz Werner and William Stern, he is interested in the processes of differentiation and clarification essential in the young child's thinking and feeling; he is eager to help adults to recognize the "two worlds in which the young child and adult live isolated from each other." His subtitle *The Child's Search for His Self* refers to the process by which the child separates himself from an environment and becomes clear about his own individuality.

The book is divided into three main parts. Part I, *Observation*, reviews mental, emotional and social characteristics of early childhood and summarizes childish conceptions of reality; Piaget, Stern, Karl Buehler, would find themselves at home here. This section seems primarily to orient the American reader to the concepts and background against which Werner Wolff's own work is carried out.

Part II, *Experimentation*, is based on drawings, photographs of bodily movements, experiments designed by Dr. Wolff and records of children's language and behavior. These materials come from the nursery schools at Sarah Lawrence College, Vassar College and Bard College, where Dr. Wolff has suc-

cessively worked. Readers familiar with the work of Edward Liss, Trudi Schmidl-Waehner and other workers with projective methods will find his chapters a very stimulating addition to the materials in the field. In children's art Dr. Wolff is especially interested in style of expression, the child's evaluation of his home situation as reflected in his drawings, the contents of his fantasies and the objects of his fears and hates and his relation to space. He gives special attention to the significance of balance and special proportions as indicating the child's adjustment.

Part III, *Theory*, summarizes the principles and stages of development of art in children, discusses the implications of a deeper understanding of children for education, and presents the author's philosophy concerning research method in child psychology.

American psychologists, carefully trained in rigidly objective methods, can easily find grounds for criticism in this book, especially in the rather inadequately documented discussion of intelligence.

Parents who have brought up several children may also be critical of the use of extremely clear-cut, dramatic material without any comment on the fact that children differ greatly in their expressiveness. It would be unfortunate if a generation of parents read only books like this and were led to expect that all children are equally creative and original, just as it has been unfortunate for parents to be overly concerned with age norms.

Each method in psychology, however, has the limitations of its own assets, and the shortcomings of the book are greatly outbalanced by its gifts. Child psychologists, educators and parents who are most deeply interested in trying to understand the "inner world of childhood" will be grateful to Dr. Wolff for his important contributions to our insight. His book is rich in hypotheses and clues which can also offer much stimulus to young investigators who wish to check, define and extend the ideas he has put forth. Intelligent parents and teachers will welcome it for the keys it offers to the understanding of drawings that otherwise might seem trivial or unintelligible, as well as for the stimulating approach to the child's way of orienting himself to life.

LOIS BARCLAY MURPHY
Member of teaching faculty in
Psychology at Sarah Lawrence College

Psychiatric Interviews with Children. Edited by Helen Leland Witmer. 443 pp. *The Commonwealth Fund*, 1946. \$4.50.

This is a book of great value to anyone interested in child guidance. It is intended primarily for students of child psychiatry, but everyone who works with children—teachers, social workers, parents—and who is familiar with basic psychiatric concepts will find here increased understanding of children's emotional behavior.

The editor's purpose is to present various methods of child guidance. She does not pretend to cover all the accredited techniques, or to evaluate the samples included in her selection. She merely lays before the reader ten illustrations of successful therapy. The body of the book is made up of the records of ten cases conducted by therapists in child guidance clinics in different cities throughout the country. The cases are arranged according to degree of emotional disturbance; the first group shows the treatment of non-neurotic children, the second, of children with neurotic symptoms, and the final group, of children who are seriously neurotic. In each case, while the therapist—usually a psychiatrist—worked with the child, a social worker interviewed the parent. The therapist's account of the sessions with the child is accompanied by his comments on the case and by footnotes in which he points out just what he is doing and why he is doing it. Condensed reports of the social worker's interviews with the parent are added where they provide insight into the child's behavior; they also indicate the social worker's role in modifying the parent's actions and attitudes as they affect the child.

In an introductory section, the editor outlines a brief history of child guidance. She then discusses the concept "neurosis," listing traits that differentiate children who handle their emotional conflicts in a neurotic fashion from those whose "symptoms represent . . . a more straightforward response to unfavorable environmental conditions and events." She considers also the relationship between psychiatrist and patient: "Dynamic psychiatry regards disorders of personality as disorders of personal relations; that is, as evidence of the difficulty the individual encountered in maintaining a feeling of security with the human beings who are emotionally important to him. It is highly logical, then, that chief reliance for therapy should be placed on the development of a satisfactory relationship between psychiatrist and patient and that numerous ways should be devised to use that relationship for therapeutic ends."

(Continued on page 92)

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WITH the long days of summer our children turn their curiosity and wonder on the world of the out-of-doors. There are many new books to expand their explorations and to stimulate and dramatize their awareness of nature lore.

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The very youngest (four to seven) will delight in the delectable colors and fine drawings by Katherine Evans in *Johnny and the Monarch*, written by Margaret Friskey (Childrens Press, \$1.00). He will be amazed to learn how the Monarch moth came to be and what happened to the caterpillar.

A pair of very real raccoons and their amusing adventures are presented by Inez Hogan with authentic and artistic illustrations: *Raccoon Twins* (Dutton, \$1.00). Ducks are another subject of interest for the very young, who will be both charmed and informed by the story of *Mrs. Mallard's Ducklings*, told simply by Celia Lafield, with bright illustrations by Leonard Weisgard (Lothrop, \$2.00). Another winsome tale of a family of wild ducks on the Maine coast is *Mother Penny*, by Gertrude Robinson, illustrated by Cathie Babcock (Dutton, \$1.00); and any small child will have fun with a delightfully illustrated story of a pet bunny who leads his mistress on an adventure—*Round the Afternoon*, by Charlotte Jackson, with pictures by Leonard Weisgard (Dodd, \$2.25).

For the child who stays city bound, *The Little Farm in the Big City*, by Erick Berry (Viking, \$1.50), filled with many happy pictures, will bring real pleasure and may stir him into enthusiastic city farming. *Easter Surprise*, by Helen K. Rathbun, gives a warm friendly account of the long days between planting and blooming. It is illustrated by Vera Neville (Crowell, \$1.50).

For the somewhat older child, exciting excursions into the ways of wild animals will lead him away from the narrow personal experiences of which he is now rather impatient, and will satisfy his bolder interests. *Coyotes*, a superb study of the wild wolf dog, is another in the series of nature studies by Wilfrid S. Bronson (Harcourt, \$1.75). *The Tale of the Wild Goose*, by Henry B. Kane (Knopf, \$1.75), follows an absorbing life history, and *Animal Inn*, by Virginia Moe with pictures by Milo Winter (Houghton, \$2.50) recounts the fascinating ways of wild animals brought to the Trailside Museum in a forest preserve. Much wood and animal lore is unobtrusively included, too, in the charming story of an apple-twigg doll, *Miss Hickory*, by Carolyn Sherwin Bailey, with unusually apt lithographs by Ruth Gannett (Viking, \$2.50).

There are many fine action photographs of animal life accompanied by slight text in the *True Nature Picture Series*, taken from Britannica Films (Encyclopædia Britannica, 12 booklets, \$.50 each), though there is some unevenness of quality in the separate booklets. A more expensive but beautiful book, sure to be cherished by the young nature enthusiast, is *The Big Tree*, by Mary and Conrad Buff (Viking, \$3.00), whose fine illustrations tell the story of a redwood from seed to giant tree, interwoven with many tales of wild life.

The child over twelve will find a comprehensive and absorbing study of bee society in Louis Sutherland's *The Life of the Queen Bee* (Ackerman, \$2.50). A captivating picture book on the animals in the zoo is Dena Humphrey's *The Zoo Book*. With its simple, charming photographs and its vivid and stimulating text, it will be a wonderful supplement to trips to the zoo (Holt, \$2.00). There is an informative *Boys' Guide to Fishing*, by K. and E. E. Morton (Greenberg, \$2.00) for those children who would take to the rod and reel. For boys and girls who are curious about the moon there is much material, scientific and mythological, in *This Is the Moon*, by Marion B. Cothren, illustrated by Kurt Wiese (Coward McCann, \$2.00). *Outdoors Guide*, edited by Deep-river Jim (Didier, \$2.50) is invaluable both as inspiration and information, and a new addition to

(Continued on page 85)

CHILDREN'S RADIO PROGRAMS

"IS RADIO MEETING THE NEEDS OF OUR CHILDREN?" This was the question raised for discussion by the children's program session at the Seventeenth Annual Institute for Education by Radio at Columbus, Ohio, May 2-5. A panel of educators, parents, a psychiatrist, and representatives of the radio industry debated the values and defects of present programing for children.

The needs of children were viewed as including the emotional need for adventure, and escape from the monotony of routines and these needs, it was felt, are being served by the exciting adventure type of program. Educational and cultural needs, however, are not being met by these programs, which, it was charged, are too often inferior presentations offering nothing of positive worth. The children's absorption in their programs was pictured as disruptive to family routines and shared activities. It was suggested, too, that children's varied tastes have not been sufficiently explored, nor has there been enough effort to tap the creative talent which might be found and directed toward the production of new and different types of programs which might further the maturing process in childhood. Radio was criticized, too, for its failure to use its vast resources to bring to young listeners a deeper appreciation and understanding of the democratic way of life and spiritual values.

Discussing the question of crime programs and their effects upon young listeners, the statement that children may be impelled toward asocial acts by hearing crime dramatized on the radio was emphatically denied. On the contrary, children, who often have "murder in their hearts," may find in these programs outlets for their aggressive feelings. Psychiatric insight stresses children's need for fantasy at one stage in the developmental process.

It was pointed out, however, that radio is only one of the many facets of expression to which children are exposed, and must be managed as other influences are managed—by parental guidance. Parents expect to take a hand in guiding children's choices and building appreciations in their reading and other activities, according to the individual child's needs. This is just as true in radio listening. Such guidance, however, must be based upon an understanding of children's interests, and must take into account that the child's tastes and preferences may not, and need not, coincide with ours. More attentive listening on the part of parents will reveal that there are both good and poor

among the present programs, and that they cannot be lumped together as being all of a kind.

The suggestion that our traditional literature offers better material for children's programs than the stories being turned out by present-day script writers brought objections on two counts: Actual experience in adapting this classic literature for radio has revealed that many of our traditional favorites are full of incidents too gory and language too stilted to be offered on the air. They have to be drastically edited from both points of view. Furthermore, it would be a mistake to suppose that nothing new can be good, or that all good writing stopped after our own childhood classics were written. Children need and want contemporary stories that deal with a world they know.

Practical suggestions were for more advice by psychologists and parents to producers and broadcasters, more experimentation with new forms and ideas, and greater rewards for creative talent in children's programs.

JOSETTE FRANK

CHILDREN'S BOOKS

(Continued from page 84)

its indispensable series of nature guides has been published by Putnam's: *Field Book of Eastern Birds*, by Leon Augustus Hausman (\$3.75).

Interest in the How and Why of the physical world around them brings children closer to the meaning of physical science, to man-made wonders and the wonders of nature and its laws. Simple but satisfying experiments, and much basically sound information will be found in the following three books: *Keys to Nature's Secrets*, by Elizabeth Rider Montgomery (McBride, \$1.50), *Without Fire*, by Marian E. Baer, illustrated by Frederick T. Chapman (Rinehart, \$1.25), *It Seems Like Magic*, by Josephine van Dolzen Pease, pictures by Esther Friend (Rand, \$2.50).

When the days are long and the parent needs help in entertaining children indoors, he can find a wealth of suggestions for the younger child in *A Treasury of Play Ideas for Tiny Tots*, by Caroline Horowitz (Hart, \$1.00), while for the older child the same author, in collaboration with Harold Hart, offers *The Jumbo Fun Book* (Hart, \$1.50) with page upon page of games, tricks, riddles and puzzles to fill many happy hours.

MIRIAM DE SANTIS
Children's Book Committee

Recent Research

A GLANCE OVER THE FIELD OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT

MARGARET MEIGS

"TEACHING is like pouring water from a big tub into a small narrow-necked bottle." Fifty-six years ago this observation appeared in Volume I of the PEDAGOGICAL SEMINARY. The début of this journal marked the establishment of child development as a respectable field for research. The quotation above was the fruit of G. Stanley Hall's famous inquiry into "The Content of Children's Minds on Entering School."

The content, concluded Hall, was surprisingly meager. Now with a half-century of vigorous activity behind it child development research is still exploring the content of children's minds. Professor Jersild of Columbia University says today: "Children's concepts are like a Swiss cheese: Full of holes." Research, however, has considerably broadened in scope and vision since the days of G. Stanley Hall. A department of child development with a more or less active research staff is an accepted feature of universities today. From these universities, from foundations set up especially to encourage the study of children, from schools, clinics, doctors' offices and government bureaus comes a flood of material.

The volume of studies is enormous, but each new investigation produces new problems of interpretation. There is still no complete science of behavior, no comprehensive theory which would enable us to explain, to predict, to control, or even to provide for optimum development. Research today, however, is approaching this goal of larger understanding from many different angles. There have been interesting advances on all fronts. Coordinated projects have enlarged the scope of research. There is a sharpened interest in longitudinal studies such as those of Dr. Arnold Gesell, which follow the growth of the same individual children over periods of years. There has been a big increase in the kinds of problems investigated and in the new techniques developed for approaching these problems. Dr. Margaret Mead has, for example, looked to the pattern of development in other cultures to yield us a better understanding of our own. The camera has been used with telling

effectiveness by Dr. René Spitz to record the fleeting expression of emotion.

In the field of theory, brilliant work has been done in interpreting findings and organizing them into creative insights which help us to understand the dynamics of human behavior and development. Contributions of psychoanalysis are illustrated in this issue of CHILD STUDY in the articles by Dr. Spitz and Dr. Buxbaum. The urgent need for help presented by the psychiatric patient is stimulating clinical psychiatry to a new awareness of the need for further research and a clarification of its aims and processes.

Other advances have been made along the line of the practical application of research, notably in pediatrics and in the broad field of education. Some examples of achievements of recent research on these various fronts will be briefly presented in the following discussion.

Important Previous Studies

The "longitudinal study" itself is not new. The very first serious research projects, begun, it is interesting to note, in a family setting, were reports made on the development of individual babies by observant fathers and maiden aunts. The progress of Dr. Gesell's famous twins, T. and C., was recorded from time to time, from pre-school years through adolescence. Dr. Gesell's present work at the Yale Clinic has grown out of an annual follow-up of other children, studied from infancy. Important long-term studies have been made also on the careers of adults who scored high on intelligence tests in childhood and on the later life adjustments of juvenile delinquents.

Today new projects are being planned or are actually in operation, which aim to take full advantage of the possibilities of longitudinal studies in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of the growth of individuals, their response and adaptation to the world in which they live.

Whether personality differences can be spotted at birth, whether education can be planned and adjusted to different types of personalities from the earliest years to maturity are the problems attacked by the

Mrs. Meigs is educational assistant on the staff of the Child Study Association of America. She is on leave of absence as school psychologist from the Brooklyn Friends School.

Mayo Foundation Child Study Project in Rochester, Minn. A combined child study, child care and guidance investigation is under way there under the direction of Dr. C. Anderson Aldrich. The plan is to keep a complete record of an entire generation from conception to maturity for all born in that city since January 1944. Interesting findings are already coming from the nurseries for the newborn in Rochester.* Classes are being held for the teachers who will soon meet these children in school. Already their parents are receiving special help in understanding the nature and problems of child development.

Among the most interesting of the longitudinal studies is that conducted at Antioch College by the Fels Research Institute for the Study of Human Development under the direction of Dr. L. W. Sontag. The research program sponsored there aims to observe the maximum number of aspects of growth and of factors influencing development. Three hundred children and their families are being intensively studied. These investigations include varied studies of the development of babies before birth. Reactions of unborn children to such diverse stimuli as sudden noises and cigarette smoking by the mother have been tested. One question posed but not yet determined by the studies is whether behavior after birth can be predicted from the baby's prenatal characteristics.

Another of the important areas investigated at Fels is the effect of primarily "democratic" or "authoritarian" patterns of parent behavior upon different children. Interestingly enough, one finding is that a "democratic" atmosphere, which expects a child to make decisions beyond his psychic strength, is not an easy environment in which to grow up.

The Problem of Choice

The very scope of the longitudinal problem may become a problem in itself. Out of the infinite varieties of human growth and behavior, of environment and biological history, on what shall the investigator focus? What is important to follow and record? And when he has decided *what*, will he be able to answer the further question of *how*? Even when the area of the study and the procedures are outlined, and the data accumulated, there still remains the task of sifting and organizing it in such a way that essential relationships emerge and become meaningful.

A discussion of these problems—a kind of "research of research"—by Dr. Jean Macfarlane, is one

of the outstanding contributions of the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California. Several ambitious studies are under way there. In one, their Guidance Project, reports of observations, interviews, and tests have accumulated over a period of eighteen years on the same group of about 250 children, half of whom have received special counseling and half none. A full analysis of this wealth of material constitutes a huge project in itself.

In another of their projects, The Adolescent Growth Study, Dr. Harold E. Jones has organized the material collected on one of their many subjects into a psychological biography. This follows one child's development from an eleven-year-old pre-adolescent with an extraordinary accumulation of personal handicaps into an adequate and competent youth of eighteen. In summarizing this boy's progress toward maturity, the author comments,† "so marked an upturn in John's personal fortunes is evidence not only of the toughness of the human organism, but also of the slow and complex ways in which nature and culture come into adaptation."

New Light on Old Questions

The opportunities offered by the long perspective of the longitudinal study has stimulated originality in dealing with some time-honored problems and has also been one factor in defining some new areas for research.

Electroencephalograms, records of brain waves, have been collected for the same children over a period of years. This was one of the procedures of the Brush Foundation at Western Reserve University of Medicine in their twelve-year study. Strong evidence of sex difference was noted in the patterns of brain waves, and differences were also found between the electroencephalograms of normal children and of children who showed problem behavior.

The relation between physical growth and psychological development has always been a basic problem of research. W. C. Olsen at Michigan University has expressed the results of repeated developmental tests on the same group of 56 children in terms of various growth ages. Thus a child, in addition to a chronological and a mental age, has a height and a weight age, a strength of grip age, a reading age, etc. Graphs of the growth curves of these various items plotted for each child show interesting interrelationships between physical growth and mental

* See Science Contributes, CHILD STUDY, Fall issue, 1946.

† *Development in Adolescence*. Approaches to the Study of the Individual. Harold E. Jones and Associates. D. Appleton-Century. 1943.

skills. At the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, at the University of Colorado, and in the U. S. Children's Bureau, to mention a few centers, psychological research is being vigorously pursued.

The Group Influence

A problem which is increasingly absorbing to investigators today is that of the relation between the individual and society. Many studies are appearing in the field of social psychology exploring the way in which attitudes and prejudices develop, the effect on group members and outsiders of social groupings, of social status, of the characteristics of the group. The journal *SOCIOMETRY* was established for the purpose of reporting investigations in this field. The brilliant work of Ronald Lippett and the late Kurt Lewin at the University of Iowa on "democratic" and "authoritarian" group atmospheres has stimulated further research. At the University of Chicago under the leadership of R. J. Havighurst, Allison Davis, and others, the Committee on Human Development has embarked on a vital line of study: "Child Development in Relation to Community Social Structure."

The stimulating twin questions of research, *what* and *how*, have challenged collaborating psychologists at Vassar and Sarah Lawrence Colleges. There the private inner world of children is the target of research and child study is being approached from the angle of the "expressive meaning of behavior."

During the pre-school years, the child is building up the system of special meanings and significance through which all experience is filtered, so that the same remark may amuse one, frighten another and offend a third. Drs. Eugene Lerner, Lois Barclay Murphy, and L. Joseph Stone are trying to find out through the development of "projective techniques" how this inner world is built up. They base these methods on the theory that in his play, his games, his paintings, his use of toys and materials, etc., the youngster *projects* onto the situation his own individual understanding and feelings. By observing the child in these play or play-like situations, the trained psychologist can infer the child's inner attitudes.

The current interest in the interpretation of children's creative work is attested by the recent publication of two absorbing texts. Werner Wolff in *Personality of the Preschool Child* (Grune and Stratton, 1946) presents interpretive studies of children's drawings, stories, and expression in other media. A two-volume discussion of children's art, *Painting and Personality*, by Rose H. Alschuler and La Berta W.

Hattwick, has just been issued by the University of Chicago Press.

A particularly interesting and promising aspect of the Sarah Lawrence-Vassar studies is their development of several films dealing with this method of insight into child personality.

The use of films to record and to disseminate research, so successfully pioneered by Dr. Arnold Gesell, has yet to be adequately exploited. At the 1946 Round Table of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Dr. Lawrence Kubie pointed out that the concealed camera with soundtrack offers at last a practical means of effecting a permanent and exact record of the psychoanalytic interview. An increasingly active rôle for motion pictures can also be predicted in the work of bringing the results of research into the range of practical application.

In the field of clinical psychiatry, practice cannot easily wait upon the benediction of research. Therapy and theory have developed together as the psychiatrist addressed himself to the urgent task of treating the sick personality. Clinical observation, especially through psychoanalysis, has made a major contribution to our understanding of normal children and has added new techniques to research generally. In its own field, however, systematic research has lagged.

The Round Table mentioned above and reported in the April, 1947 issue of the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* was devoted to a discussion of this situation. In a series of thoughtful papers, leaders in the field of psychiatric clinical research turned upon themselves the sharp light of self-criticism. In their unflinching analysis of the difficulties that must be overcome in clinical research and of the responsibility of psychiatry and especially psychoanalysis to shoulder this task, the Association may be pointing the way to the kind of research which may well represent the most exciting advances of the future.

Research of the Future

One line that this research will probably take was pointed out by Dr. Ernst Kris of the New School for Social Research at the Conference of the CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA in March 1947, when he emphasized the need for systematic study of large numbers of normal life histories. The longitudinal studies described earlier might sound as if they filled this requirement, but these have not been set up with a psychoanalytic orientation. As yet there is a gap between psychiatry and psychology which has not been adequately bridged. It is inter-

esting to note, for example, that in the 1,068 pages of the recently published *Manual of Child Psychology* ‡ representing nineteen authors, the contributions of psychoanalysis receive no detailed or serious consideration. The research of the future may well be enriched by fuller coordination of psychological and psychiatric insights and techniques.

The value of supplementing one field of study with the findings of another is strikingly illustrated by the way in which public health and pediatric work has been enriched by the inclusion of the data of child psychology. This is evidenced by the recent comprehensive revision of the U. S. Children's Bureau pamphlet, *Infant Care* (Bureau Publication 8, revised 1945), and amply illustrated in *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (Duell, Sloane and Pearce, 1945), by Dr. Benjamin Spock, a pediatrician with psychiatric training.

The continuous responsibility of education should be the application and testing of the conclusions of research. In this half-century during which child development has been considered a legitimate area for research, the field of education also has responded not only with a tremendous volume of its own studies

but also with further tests of research findings in the living laboratory of schools. The National Education Association has provided one important channel for the study and the summarizing of results. An example of their work at its best is the recent challenging Sixteenth Yearbook of their National Council for the Social Studies, "Democratic Human Relations."

One research center exclusively devoted to the task of organizing coordinated educational research is the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation at Columbia University's Teachers College. The Institute works with associated school systems in widely different communities throughout the United States in formulating, carrying out and evaluating educational experiment. The basic problems set by the Institute are large ones: better to understand the children and the world we live in and to weave this understanding into the pattern of education.

This educational objective is, if not the aim of each specific investigation, the motivating hope of all research in child study. This young but flourishing science may seem to have provided us with less effective knowledge than one might expect from the energy and talent poured into it. But the stimulating challenge of its goal cannot be denied.

‡ *Manual of Child Psychology*, edited by Leonard Carmichael. John Wiley. 1946.

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News and Notes

Children's Book Award

To Howard Pease, author of *Heart of Danger*, Mrs. Hugh Grant Straus, Chairman of the Child Study Association's Children's Book Committee, sent this telegram of congratulation:

"I am very happy to tell you that our Children's Book Committee selected *Heart of Danger* as the 1946 book to which it wishes to give its honorary award as a book which faces with honesty and courage real problems in today's world." Mr. Pease flew from the West Coast to the Association's conference luncheon to receive the award in person from Mrs. Mary Fisher Langmuir, President of the Child Study Association. In accepting, Mr. Pease expressed his three aims in writing for children—to view the world and the people in it, not from the adult viewpoint but as seen by growing young people, to let his hero and his readers always discover buried treasure in spiritual gain or intellectual understanding, and to give young people credit for a capacity to understand and face the world today.

Mr. Pease has written a great many stories for young people—mostly stories of sea adventure. *Heart of Danger*, published by Doubleday and Company, is a thrilling tale of anti-Nazi underground fighters and one boy's personal conflict and triumph.

Handicapped Child

Although intended primarily for public health nurses, a pamphlet called *Mental Hygiene of the Orthopedically Handicapped Child*, recently published by the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, will prove a practical and sympathetic guide to anyone dealing with handicapped young people. Based on the thesis that the crippled child is primarily a child like other children, needing his rightful place in society, the author, E. Louise Ware, Ph.D., offers suggestions for handling the child's as well as the parents' emotional problems and anxieties. Write to the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, 580 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, N. Y.

Summer— Danger Period

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis issues a warning to parents that summer is the danger season for poliomyelitis, but offers reassurance both in actual statistics about epidemics and in practical precautions to be

taken if the disease strikes your community. Among their recommendations to parents of patients are: "Be guided by sound medical advice." "Keep your head." "Don't worry about expense." In regard to cost, they advise parents to get in touch with the nearest Chapter of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, which will give help if needed to pay for treatments. The address is 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

Valuable Pamphlet List

A carefully organized list of pamphlets helpful to anyone concerned with children may be had for the asking from the New York State Committee on Mental Hygiene, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. The list is grouped according to subject and each pamphlet is also keyed for its special interest to teachers, parents, social workers and other groups.

Summer Therapy

Wayne University offers summer training and field study in clinical group work with children at Camp Chief Noonday, Middleville, Michigan. Eighty boy and girl campers between eight and thirteen will attend the camp and students may serve either as participant observers or as counsellors. The camp is intended chiefly for graduate students. It is an extension of the all-year-round program of the Detroit Group Project, an agency for diagnostic group work and group therapy, developed by the University School of Public Affairs and Social Work. Address The Detroit Group Project, Wayne University, 5229 Cass Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan.

Of Nursery School Interest

The National Association for Nursery Education will hold its biennial conference this summer, August 27, 28 and 29, in San Francisco. For registration and information, address Mrs. Helen Marchand, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California.

The Nursery Training School of Boston, now observing its twenty-fifth anniversary, announces courses for college and junior-college graduates and teachers in service at its Summer School, June 18 to July 26. For further details write to the Nursery Training School, 355 Marlborough Street, Boston 15, Mass.

Challenge to Secondary Schools

A new appraisal of the Eight-Year Study of thirty secondary schools made by the American Education Fellowship is given by Agnes E. Benedict in a survey called "Dare Our Secondary Schools Face the Atomic Age?" Miss Benedict outlines the history and the results of this prolonged study from 1932 to 1940 which proved the superiority of the progressive over the conservative methods, and sums up later developments in a chapter "Six Years After." She offers this successful experiment as a challenge to every American high school today. Copies of "Dare Our Secondary Schools Face the Atomic Age?" may be secured from American Education Fellowship, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Developmental Reading

The annual Institute on Developmental Reading, sponsored by the Reading Clinic Staff of the Department of Psychology, Temple University, will be held in Philadelphia, from June 23 to June 27. A three-year evaluation program will be initiated, placing emphasis each summer on a different aspect of the reading problem. This June the theme will be the integrated language arts approach. Address Emmett A. Betts, Reading Clinic, Temple University, Philadelphia 22, Pa.

Hungry India

India, on the verge of statehood, is in the throes of political and economic upheaval, aggravated by drought, flood and famine. The American Friends Service Committee and the British Friends Service Unit, cooperating with the Indian government which provides some funds for food, are attempting to alleviate some of the worst suffering. These agencies are also giving longer-term help through classes and schools in cooperative farming for young people, teaching better farming methods to the boys, and weaving, home-making and nursing to the girls. Money is desperately needed for seed, tools, food, medicine and vitamins. Send your contribution to the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from page 83)

With this discussion in mind, the reading of the case records becomes both absorbing and instructive. The drama of the cases as stories is in itself appealing. But the fullness of the records and the careful annotations of the therapists show, as clearly as is possible in a written description, exactly what went on between the therapist and the child. Since the nature of psychotherapy makes it impossible for a third person to be present during a therapeutic session, this is the nearest approach to observation of psychotherapy. In a concluding section, the editor states that "the aim of this book has been to show that psychotherapy is a living process, not a textbook set of rules, and that he who would practice it must learn how to translate theory back into the language from which it originated—the symbols that two persons, psychiatrist and patient, use when they want to communicate with each other to therapeutic ends. . . . Theory cannot take into account all the rich variety of real life, variety that in some sciences can perhaps be largely disregarded but that in psychotherapy is the essential. In these cases we have tried to show how theory works out in practice—how diagnostic understanding is arrived at, how the therapeutic relationship is developed and used, how from day to day therapist and patient work together on their joint endeavor."

KATHERINE E. HYAM
Bibliography Committee

BABIES IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

(Continued from page 72)

seventeen you meet the one girl, fall in love with her on a balcony, marry her and never again need to think of another human being. Most of us have a boss whom we need to understand, and office associates to know and like, as well as all the people in our social set to love a little. Nor do we always stay in the same office; we move about into hundreds of other places in the course of our lives. As most of us live today, we must be able to enter a group of perfect strangers and make friends; if a week later, one of them loses a member of his family, we are expected to offer consolation like a sister or a brother.

It seems important, therefore, to consider this development of the possessive nature in the infant from

another angle. If we give the baby interaction with a great many people in a great many situations, without at any time sacrificing its familiarity with one person and one place, we shall get a better human being.

If we could only realize that it does not hurt babies to hold them! One of our very expensive private schools always kept a baby at the school because it was good for the students; but when I asked the psychologist what the students had learned, she replied, "Never to touch the baby." If we could only realize how the baby needs interaction with hands which are enjoying it—with women's hands and men's hands, with children's hands and the hands of old people. A baby held by children finds out what it means to be a child; from old hands, it learns about age. For it is not only by the sight of faces but by interaction of touch and timing and rhythm that we can give young children a developed sense of human relationships, out of which will come many other perceptions. Through such relationships, we lay the basis in the child for learning the enormous diversity of experiences which await us in our society.

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The editors of *CHILD STUDY* would greatly appreciate comments from our readers upon the contents and the policy of the magazine. Will you help us to give you what you want by writing to us specifically:

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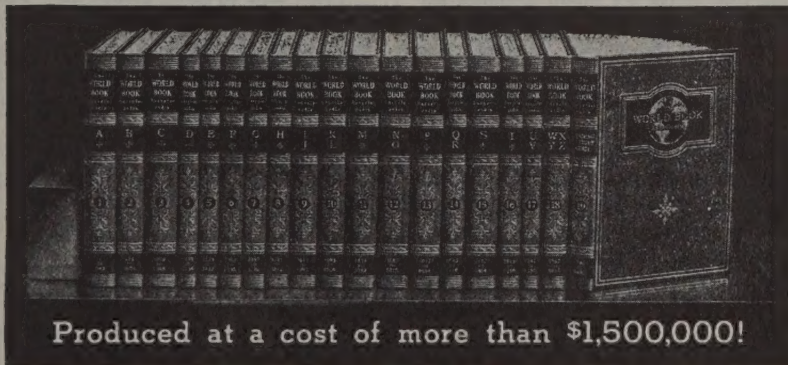
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Organizing Parent Education*

ALINE B. AUERBACH

IN the confused and changing world in which we find ourselves, we are increasingly aware that old guide-posts are gone. Parents are eager to work out as thoughtfully and clearly as they can those principles which will best help them in guiding their children. They are finding that they can do this in discussion groups, where they can profit by an exchange of stimulating thought and experiences.

Study groups can be started wherever people have a common interest. They are organized in connection with parents' associations of schools, nursery schools and child care centers, in church organizations, in settlements and neighborhood houses, in labor groups, in housing projects, professional and educational groups and social organizations.

They usually start with a small number of enthusiastic members, who draw others into the group as the meetings progress. Numbers are not important. The group should be large enough to provide a variety of experiences, but small enough for the discussion to be informal and spontaneous. There is no fixed pattern of group organization. In every case it must fit the needs of its members and its own community.

Every group needs a leader to guide the discussion and coordinate the work of the members. A good leader has initiative and resourcefulness. She likes people and they like her. She may be a forceful personality but she is careful not to dominate and overwhelm the group. Her primary interest is to further the work rather than to use the group to inflate her self-esteem. She is interested in having the members grow and develop new powers. By so doing, she grows, too.

Although there is always an informal sharing of practical experiences, she looks for general principles that give meaning to the specific problem. She comes gradually to sense when a problem is deeper than it appears and is able to suggest when the parent may profit by expert counseling individually, rather than try to get help solely through the group. She tries to acquaint herself with what the community offers in the way of counseling services and guidance clinics

so that she can let members know where to go for professional help.

The leader should find out from group members where their main interests lie and plan the material accordingly. Usually this is done on the basis of the ages of their children—the young child, the school child, the adolescent. Some groups may wish to discuss general subjects such as marriage and family relations, the principles of family life in a democracy or the development of wholesome personality. Others may prefer specific aspects of development throughout childhood, such as discipline and authority, developing independence and responsibility and the prevention of delinquency. Preparation for parenthood and the problems of parents as people and as adults are also of deep significance to such groups.

Reading lists can be obtained from educational organizations and from local libraries. Sometimes members will want to build up a small library themselves. Members should be encouraged to read as much as possible. The more they read, the more they can bring to the discussion—and the more they can get from it.

Study group meetings become more interesting and stimulating when there are opportunities to visit children in groups, where the members can get a new perspective on problems of child development and care which will help them understand their own problems.

From time to time, groups may welcome a more formal lecture by an authority in the field of medicine, education, recreation or the community aspects of child care. In this way the members will appreciate that all the children of a community are important—not only their own.

While mothers usually are the ones who have the time and the interest to attend meetings, groups of mothers and fathers together have also proved successful in many places. Sometimes it is advisable to have an organized presentation of a special topic by an outside expert at a fathers' meeting. In connection with child care centers and other community activities, fathers are often helpful in making equipment and in sharing the planning and maintenance of projects. In these indirect ways, fathers participate in parent education in a vital way.

* A more comprehensive and detailed set of suggestions for parent education leaders may be found in the Child Study Association pamphlet "Today's Children for Tomorrow's World—A Guide to the Study of the Child from Infancy to Six." This is a manual for study with suggestions to group leaders by Aline B. Auerbach, a member of the Family Counseling Staff of the Association.

EMOTIONAL GROWTH

(Continued from page 70)

mester or beyond. Instead of the familiar eight-months' anxiety in the presence of strangers there may be a form of crying and screaming which is very difficult to overcome, because the child is actually in a depression, rejecting not only the stranger but the world at large. Such children, if not provided with adequate emotional interchange, will deteriorate progressively into a complete loss of contact with the world they live in, leaving a lasting deformation of the personality.

Practical Applications

What now are the practical applications of this insight we have gained of emotional growth in the baby's first year?

First, by recognizing that certain emotional reactions are to be expected at a given age, we may facilitate our approach to young children. A person who knows how should be able to set up friendly relations with a normally healthy child. If, in approaching a baby in the second trimester, the adult remembers to offer the full face, at the same time smiling, nodding and speaking softly, a normal child will respond easily. It is even more important to remember that in the third trimester anxiety and shyness at the sight of strangers is a developmental necessity. You should hardly begin by chucking the child under the chin. Instead, approach him with caution; in fact, the best method is to turn your back. Within a few moments, the shyest child of this age will invariably tug at your hand or coat. From then on, the baby is yours.

Most important of all, we should remember that the child does not develop these emotional sequences automatically, but only in conjunction with a partner. His emotional life grows only under the necessary reciprocity with the mother or the mother-substitute—another human being. This important lesson, therefore, we may reap from our research—the most vital single factor in the child's life is his relation to his mother. No amount of toys, no wealth of material comforts, no pampering with food or hygiene can replace it. That emotional interchange alone can make a baby into an intelligent and friendly human being.

Two thousand years ago, it was truly said, "And the greatest of these is love." In our materialistic age, we cannot stress too strongly that the old truth still holds today.

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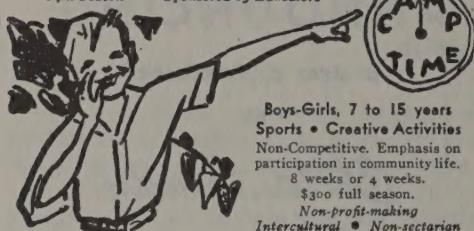
New Publication Date

We wish to announce a change in our publication schedule. Instead of the usual SUMMER issue, which ordinarily appears June 1, our next issue will be SUMMER-FALL, and will reach you in mid-September. The WINTER issue will appear early in December.

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